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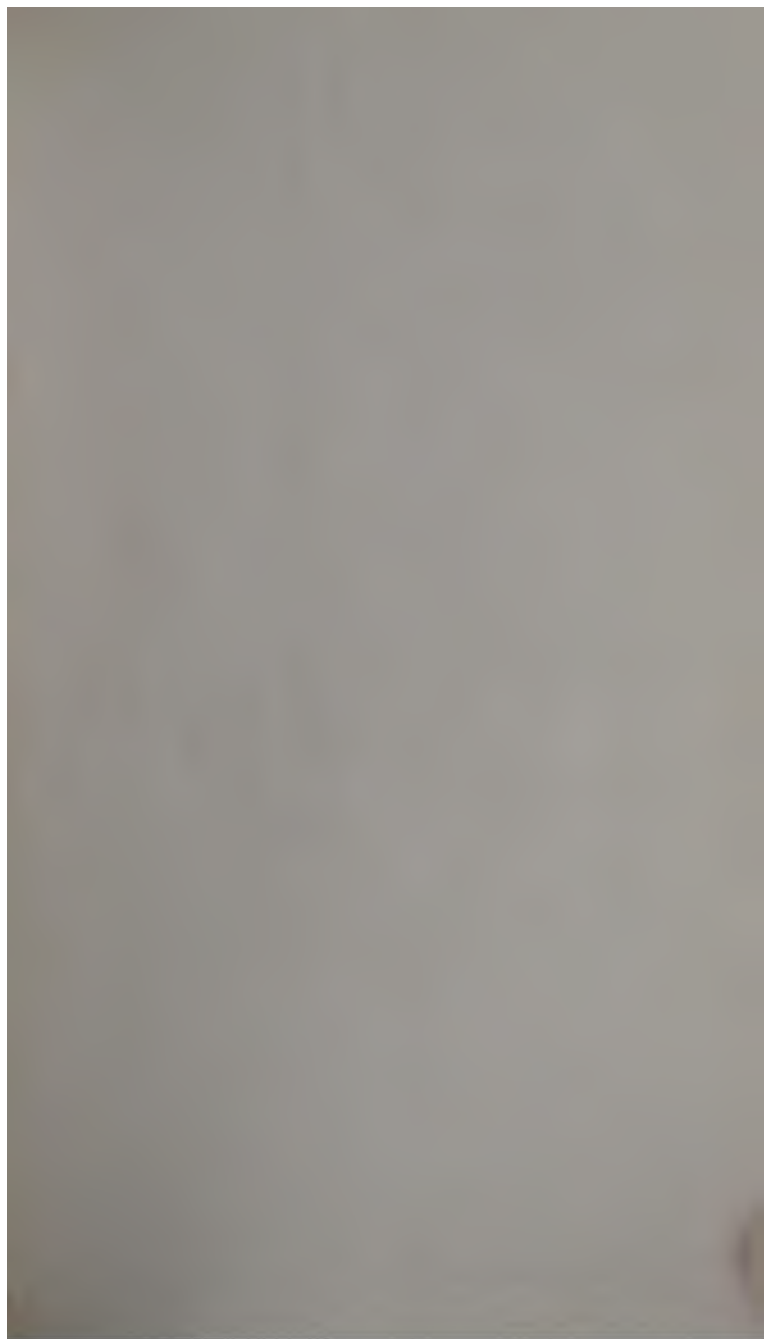
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A

CAMPAIGN

WITH

"THE TURKS IN ASIA,"

BY

CHARLES DUNCAN/ Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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A CAMPAIGN

WITH

THE TURKS IN ASIA.

CHAPTER I.

A FALSE ALARM.

WHILST the medglis, or council, composed of the three-and-twenty páchas who mismanaged the army of Kars, was gravely occupied, not in reflecting on the most feasible plan to supply the army with provisions or clothes, but in intriguing against General Guyon and undermining his influence with the troops, a report was brought in from the out-posts which threw consternation amongst the members of that sapient body.

The Russians had quitted Gumri, and were marching on Kars.

My pen would fail to describe the sensation created in the town by this sudden announcement. From the residence of the muchir to the smallest

mud hut of the place all was confusion and despair. Women were running wildly from house to house, striving to comfort each other, whilst the men actually laid aside their pipes, and meditated a grand retreat on Erzeroum. In my quarter of the town, which, being nearest to the plain, would have been the first menaced by the enemy, the excitement was immense. A few families packed up their bedding, and, loading their children and valuables on the backs of donkeys and oxen, took their departure for the neighbouring villages. The heads of the army were in a pitiable condition, and on that day General Guyon was, for once, permitted to take the supreme direction of matters in Kars. Troops were ordered to man the fortifications on the Kara-dagh and the heights above the town, whilst fresh entrenchments were commenced along the plain. The soldiers obeyed with alacrity, and awaited the approach of the Russians with confidence from behind their tabias or earthworks. For an hour the most ludicrous terror reigned in the upper ranks of the army, and naturally amongst the townspeople and the civil *employés* of the war administration.

The inhabitants of a town threatened with an assault are not expected to present a very cheerful appearance, and the good people of Kars took no pains to conceal their real sentiments.

The cause of all this alarm proceeded from an officer of the staff, who had returned from an expedition to the outposts with the startling intelligence that the advanced guard of the Russians had crossed the Arpa-tschai, and was in full march on Kars. This officer reported as follows:—He had advanced with an escort of bashi-bazooks, or irregular cavalry, towards one of the Armenian villages, which I have mentioned as being in a state of rebellion, with a view of ascertaining the disposition of the inhabitants. A few Cossacks, who had brought ammunition to the villagers, fled at the sight of the Turkish party, whilst the inhabitants opposed its advance by an irregular fire. The bashi-bazooks, however, dashed into the village at a headlong gallop, routed the villagers, and took six of them prisoners. These were brought to Kars, but, as a measure of policy and reconciliation, were sent back to their homes after they had expressed their repentance at having taken up arms against their legitimate sovereign. After having restored order in this village after their homely fashion, the bashi-bazooks evacuated it, and returned to their former quarters. On the following morning a few bashi-bazooks entered the village where the staff officer had passed the night, and reported that a large Russian force had crossed the Arpa-tschai, surrounded all the villages, had dispersed the outposts,

and was marching on Kars. The officer instantly requested Hassan Yassegi, the chief of the bashi-bazooks, to furnish him with a proper escort, that he might make a reconnoissance, and ascertain the real strength and probable intentions of the enemy. Hassan Yassegi stoutly refused either to march himself or to spare any of his men as an escort; consequently the officer was forced to advance alone, which prevented him from obtaining any precise information. He, however, heard the report of cannon, whilst several flying parties of bashi-bazooks whom he encountered stated the force of the enemy to be above five thousand strong. The staff officer then returned to Kars with his alarming account. A council of war was held in the course of the day by the high military authorities, and several energetic measures were proposed by the European generals. These were, however, overruled by the native pachas; and, instead of despatching a force to watch the enemy, and to attack him should he advance too far, the council determined on merely sending forward two reconnoissances. Of these, one under the command of Aslan Pacha (General Bystronowski) pushed past Soobattan towards the frontier, and the other under Ismail Pacha (General Kmeti) advanced in the direction of Anni, and scoured the country. Both these generals returned within two days, and the following report will

describe the information they collected with respect to the advance of the enemy, his heroic operations, and final retreat.

On the 24th of April, a Russian column, composed of four battalions of infantry, a thousand Cossacks, and a field battery, concentrated at Usum Kilisé, where, under cover of the revolted villages, they halted for the night. Early on the 25th, they advanced; but, owing to the difficulties experienced in crossing the plain, it was eight in the morning before they arrived at Erginé. That village was seven leagues distance from Kars. Here seventy-five Turkish bashi-bazooks were stationed. At Morkus were an equal number, and at Geschil there were about 1,110 irregulars, under the command of Hassan Yassegi, their chief. The Russians intercepted the road from Erginé to Mokus, and took the latter station by surprise. Their infantry were thus posted in the neighbourhood, whilst their cavalry surrounded the village. Those of the seventy-five bashi-bazooks who could not escape took refuge in the houses, and answered with their muskets and pistols a summons to surrender. The cavalry then dismounted, and, after an obstinate resistance, forced the houses. Ten Turks were killed, fifteen taken prisoners, and the remainder contrived to escape. The musket reports brought on the ground several detachments of bashi-bazooks, stationed in the neighbouring villages,

and who, to the number of 200, fell on the Russian cavalry. The Russian battalions then advanced, whilst their artillery opened a tremendous fire on the bashi-bazooks, who retreated with a trifling loss. This glorious action concluded, the Russians, instead of marching forwards, wheeled obliquely on Kisilchachak, and from thence to Mokus, where they reposed. The same night they recrossed the Arpatschai, and withdrew to Gumri, taking with them all the inhabitants of the revolted villages.

This was the result of the anticipated attack on Kars; and no sooner had the peasants and bashi-bazooks communicated the intelligence of the retreat of the enemy, than a great display of heroism succeeded to the late despondency in the language and bearing of the pachas. The muchir proposed assembling the army and bearing down upon the retreating 5,000 Russians, but was reminded that his energetic proposition arrived too late, as the enemy had quietly entered the walls of Gumri.

In rendering justice to the success of the Russians in surprising the Turkish advanced posts, I must observe that the revolted villages offered a favourable screen, and facilitated the concentration of the troops. The Russian movements, moreover, were marked with timidity, and displayed their weakness; for, after having surprised the first stations, they should have advanced, at least, to the borders of the

snow, and have destroyed all the bashi-bazook stations.

This could have been easily effected, for the half-thawed snow, which, on this side, was still deep, would have prevented any succour being despatched in time from Kars. The chief of the irregulars, Hassan Yassegi, was most culpable in not having taken part in the skirmish with his division, and for the negligent manner in which the advanced posts were guarded. It appears he maintained no pickets, and not even patrols; but for their absence, as likewise for the unmilitary regulations observed in the outposts, the *état-major* in Kars were open to reproach.

This expedition of the Russians was ridiculous in the extreme, when we reflect on the imposing force brought to bear against a handful of irregulars. A few hundred Cossacks would have sufficed to surprise the outer stations, if any advantage was to have been gained by so doing; but the idea of assembling 5,000 men of the three arms, and retreating after having dispersed for a moment the irregular garrison of a little village, was inexplicable. The height of the absurdity lay in the employment of infantry, and especially of artillery, against 300 badly armed bashi-bazooks, in the presence of 1,000 mounted Cossacks. As a strategic movement, it was badly planned, for greater attention was subsequently observed in the outposts, whilst the expc-

tation of an attack from the whole Russian force, of which this division was presumed to be the advanced guard, developed the greatest activity at headquarters. So far from having had a terrifying effect on the minds of the Turkish army, this harmless expedition had heightened the animation of all, excepting the inhabitants of Kars, who not only dreaded being pillaged by the Russians, but also by their own countrymen, should the latter have sustained a defeat. The quiet retreat of the enemy had been ascribed by the villagers to the invincible bravery of the bashi-bazooks, and that ragged body had accepted this homage with pleasing modesty. This movement of the Russians was perfectly incomprehensible, for it was no diversionary measure, the Turkish wings at Ardahan and Bayazid not having been attacked. The enemy was perfectly acquainted with all that was going on in Kars, and knew that no serious resistance could be offered by the bashi-bazooks, whilst the snow would have prevented any relief being despatched from the town. Why, then, have employed such a force with such a poor result? In a word, this remarkable expedition has never been surpassed, only once equalled, and then by that famous

King of France, who with ten thousand men,
Marched up a hill—and then marched down again!

For a week this false alarm formed the whole

subject of conversation in Kars. The intelligence of the advance of the enemy had rapidly become known in Erzeroum, having gained in exaggeration at every village and from every mouth. In a few days it was known at Mossul and Bagdad—so rapidly does news circulate in the East. At Trebizond, the Russian expedition was speedily known ; and it was currently reported, and believed, that Kars had fallen, and that the Turkish army had sustained a fearful defeat. This was anticipating events with a vengeance. On the minds of those who were with the army in the capacity of servants, and were not natives of Kars, this unfortunate alarm had exercised a pernicious influence. One and all declared they were not inclined to risk their precious lives for a monthly pittance, and gave warning to that effect to their masters. I received a similar notice from my one-eyed groom ; and was likewise apprised by my dragoman, that he could not, in justice to his wife and family, remain at Kars any longer. The latter, subsequently, modified his determination, and accepted an increase of pay. The groom took his departure for Erzeroum, where he was received by his family as a very great lion. The individual who replaced him in the direction of my stables, was an Armenian, a Russian subject, who had served as stable-help, and whom I had thus promoted. He was not, however, long in my

service, owing to the promulgation of the imperial edict, which ordered the expulsion from the Turkish territory of all Russian subjects. My groom, with his family, were of the latter number, being inhabitants of Gumri, one of the last acquisitions obtained by Russia from her weak neighbour. My next groom was a savage Arab, who ill-treated the horses, and was soon dismissed. Then I engaged a smiling Arab, who was very good-natured and lazy, and neglected the animals. I then tried a Kurd, who attempted to decamp to the hills with two of the horses; and, finally, I engaged a Polish non-commissioned officer, who united, to a perfect appreciation of his own transcendant merits, an invincible aversion to work. I was not, however, more unfortunate with regard to my servants than the other Europeans with the army, who, one and all, were victimised and robbed by these greatest "plagues of life."

A few days after the excitement attendant on the false alarm had subsided, some interesting intelligence was brought in by Turkish spies from the frontier. The garrison of Gumri had been summoned to Tiflis, where, it appeared, that Schamyl was creating great alarm. The Russian troops were engaged in digging a deep fosse around Tiflis, and strengthening that town, as far as its open position would permit. General Read, the governor of the

Trans-Caucasian provinces, had been recalled from the leave of absence granted to him, and was daily expected at Tiflis. It would appear, from these grave precautions, that some decisive step had been meditated by Schamyl, but was not carried out. A regiment of regular cavalry was despatched, on the 3rd of May, from Kars, to strengthen the outposts. All the troops were, on the same memorable morning, paid, and were, consequently, in capital spirits.

The bazaars were that day crowded with these good-natured fellows, who were trying in vain to change their ten and twenty piaster notes, and only succeeded in so doing at a great sacrifice. Tobacco and coffee rose in price, and the public baths were filled with the soldiery. In the bazaars—where everything could be purchased, from an ounce of rhubarb to an Arab horse—the place was crowded with itinerant auctioneers, who speedily cajoled the men out of their hard-earned pay. Few Turkish soldiers could resist the temptation offered by a knife, a pair of scissors, or any article of cutlery. The officers, who had received a considerable amount of their arrears of pay, purchased horses, arms, and fine saddle-cloths. The centre of the great bazaar was devoted to the sale of horses. Here, some twenty auctioneers paraded up and down on their animals, and appealed to the competition of the

public. The auctioneer was paid 10 per cent. commission on the sale money, and generally received an additional backshish from the purchaser. It was, therefore, the most lucrative profession in Kars, and the greatest ambition of an aspiring young man was to become an auctioneer.

A circumstance highly illustrative of oriental manners occurred at this period. The muchir sent at midnight for the contractor, Kosmo, who had undertaken to supply the troops with bread, and reproached him with the failure of his engagements. Kosmo, who through a succession of government contracts had acquired great wealth, replied that no flour could be obtained; which was an excuse he had previously offered on many similar occasions. However, on being threatened with punishment, flour had always appeared, and the troops had received their usual rations of bad half-baked bread. This time the muchir lost all patience on the old excuse being offered, and called in his servants, who laid the miserable contractor on the ground, whilst the muchir himself soundly belaboured his back with a stick. This energy of the muchir vastly pleased the soldiers, who were the victims of the contractor. In Europe it would sound most strange and incredible, were a field-marshal to bastinado in person a millionaire. For many weeks after, Kosmo the contractor was confined to his room from the effects

of this punishment; and the bread supplied to the troops during that time was of an excellent quality, whilst its distribution was characterised with an unusual regularity.

CHAPTER II.

A TURKISH REVIEW.—THE HEKIM-BASHIS.

ON Friday, the 5th of May, the Army of Anatolia formed in a line of battle on the plain surrounding Kars, and was passed in review by the muchir, the pachas, and the foreign generals in the Turkish service. Twenty-seven battalions of infantry, twelve squadrons of cavalry, and sixty-one field-pieces, were on the ground, and presented a very respectable force. The army of Kars included, beyond this number, several battalions which were quartered on the surrounding villages and were absent from the field, whilst two or three battalions and the greater portion of the cavalry had been dispatched to reinforce the outposts, and were consequently not present at this review. The troops were drawn up in two long lines, the battalions being intersected with batteries and flanked by the cavalry. A strong reserve, composed of the best Arabistany regiments, with cavalry, was posted in the rear. The weather was auspicious, but towards the afternoon the heat

became excessive. About noon the muchir, Zarif Pacha, with Kerim Pacha, the reis, or second in command, accompanied by a numerous staff, arrived on the ground, and joined the European generals to whom the duty of drawing up the troops had been confided. The object of this review was more to ascertain the real strength of the battalions and the condition of the men, than to execute any field manœuvres. Some of the battalions were mere skeletons, and had been reduced to 350 men ; the usual strength of a Turkish battalion being 800 to 1000 bayonets. Others, on the contrary, whom death and sickness had comparatively spared, were not far short of their original complement. Altogether the inspection was most satisfactory ; for sickness, coupled with starvation, had not destroyed the discipline of the men, nor impaired their soldierly appearance.

The muchir was surrounded by a brilliant staff, as far as the chargers and accoutrements of his officers were concerned : with respect to their military qualifications, the less said the better. The pipe-bearers of the muchir, and, in fact, of all the pachas and colonels, turned out in grand style, and were pleased to express their satisfaction at the appearance of the army. These pipe-bearers sorely tried the patience of some of the European officers : they persisted in preceding the Europeans in the *cortège*, and in some instances pushed their horses rudely in

front of the former. This was naturally resented, and the Chiboukgees were given to understand that unless they improved in their behaviour, a general expulsion of their body from the field, at the point of the boot, would probably be the result.

The dingy appearance of the Turkish uniform gave to the battalions an unimposing aspect, which was not improved by the absence of boots on many of the soldiers' feet. The men seemed in perfect good humour, and, before the arrival of the muchir, had seated themselves on the grass and were calmly chatting away. At one time, half the army had retreated a little to the rear, where kneeling they repeated their midday prayers. The whole town had assembled to witness the review, and all the inhabitants who possessed horses, amused themselves alternatively in running races, in throwing the javelin, or in staring at the star-covered uniform of old General Brainski. Several hundred Circassians and Lesghiens were on the ground, and went through their national feats of horsemanship. These consisted in checking their steed at full gallop, in hurling the lance, and other feats; which in an earnest fight would be utterly thrown away, however interesting they might be as a gratuitous exhibition. Notwithstanding the wonderful tales that are told of the agility and skill of these riders, I must observe that the very best I ever witnessed would be

surpassed by the meanest circus rider who ever astonished a gaping country town.

The muchir advanced slowly down the line, accompanied by General Guyon with the European staff: the latter had turned out in very good style, and looked well. Zarif Mustafa Pacha then examined each battalion, and addressed a few words of common place badinage to the men.

The soldiers replied with demands for boots and clothing, and asked to be led against the Russian Giaours.

Since the time of the Great Napoleon, it has become fashionable for every commander to pull his soldiers' ears, and indulge in similar species of familiarities, which only annoy the recipient of the salute and make the would-be popular general look very absurd. Zarif Mustafa Pacha, who had probably heard of the immense influence possessed by Napoleon over the minds of his troops, and of the practical jokes he played with so much success on his grenadiers, determined on imitating that high example; he, therefore, approached a tall lubberly corporal, and with a semi-ferocious attempt at a smile, seized the fellow unexpectedly by the ear. The corporal, totally unaccustomed to such familiar treatment, imagined that he had been guilty of some heinous offence, and that the infliction on the ear was but the precursor of more serious punishment; he, consequently,

set up a dismal howl, and roared *Aman Effendim !* Mercy my Lord ! The muchir, utterly disconcerted at this failure to acquire popularity at the point of the ear, abused the corporal for his stupidity and rode off to another regiment. The companions of the unlucky corporal had not comprehended the policy of the commander-in-chief, and evidently considered their comrade an illused man.

After the muchir had inspected the greater part of the regiments, he very naturally got tired of the monotony of the work. Moreover, the sun was shining like a furnace, and no fire for the preparation of coffee existed on the ground ; he, therefore, terminated the proceedings by assembling all the regimental officers present, and having formed them into a hollow square, he placed himself in the centre, and delivered the following address.

It may be considered that I am burlesquing the proceedings in question, but I beg to assure my reader that the sentiments were those expressed by the muchir, although the exact wording may not be followed. I need not say that in the minds of the more intelligent officers, the address excited feelings of disgust and humiliation.

“Officers of the army of Anatoly,” commenced the muchir, “we are about to march against the Russian Giaours, to fight for our Padichah, and our country. Be careful how you behave ! Above all

things do not fly, for I, your muchir, shall be there to watch and punish you. In action the Milazims will see that the soldiers stand firm. The Uzbachis will watch the Milazims; the Bimbachis will keep their eye on the Uzbachis, and the Miralais will keep the Bimbachis in check. The Livahs and Feriks will be more to the rear, and will watch the behaviour of the colonels, whilst I will fix my attention on the Livahs and Feriks. Let us cheer, in the name of our beloved Padichah." A mild cheer was given by the assembled officers, who broke up the square and retired, highly edified, to their respective regiments.

A short repose was given to the men, who seated themselves upon the grass, whilst their commanders called for the Chiboukgees, and commenced smoking. After a period of two pipes had elapsed, drums beat to arms, the muchir posted himself on a rising ground, and the army defiled before him in capital style.

The infantry marched well, and in very good order. The artillery deserved especial commendation for the cleanliness of the carriages, and good condition of the harness, the excellence of the horses, and particularly for the martial appearance of the men. The cavalry was superior to what I had expected, and wheeled in tolerable style; but still this arm of the Turkish service was vastly inferior to the two

others. It is difficult to explain this circumstance, for the Turk is by nature and by habit a good if not a graceful rider ; and the cavalry horses are superior to those of many of the European armies, both in strength and appearance. The men are not properly instructed in the service of their lance, and this combined with the absurd shortness of the sabre, may explain their inefficiency. The defile occupied a considerable length of time, and the troops then returned to their quarters. The appearance of the men justified very sanguine expectations ; which were not, however, doomed to be realised. Great praise was due, though not awarded, to Khorschid Pacha (Guyon), for the condition of the army ; for through his energy and spirit it had recovered from the state of disorganisation in which he had found it.

The general spirit of the army was good, and favourable to a march against the enemy ; but I regret to add, that in many of the officers, and in the most superior ranks, this spirit was wanting. Circumstances over which they had no control, however, soon forced them to advance.

After the conclusion of the review, a division of the army left Kars, with bands playing and flags flying, for Soobattan, a village five leagues distance from the town. Few European soldiers could have resisted the fatigue of a field-day on a hot summer's

morning, and have then marched a distance of fifteen miles ; yet these half-starved soldiers performed that feat, and apparently without distress. What could Napoleon not have done with such men ?

This division formed the avant-garde of the Kars army, and consisted of two regiments of rediff infantry (Anatolian), with two regiments of cavalry (Arabistany), and two batteries of horse artillery. An irregular force of about 1,000 bashi-bazooks, under Hassan Yassegi and Hadgi Denera, were added to the above.

The reserve of the advanced guard was stationed at Halifoglou, a village four hours from Kars, and consisted of two battalions of rediffs (Anatolia), two battalions of the Imperial guard, likewise rediffs, with a company of pioneers, and a battery of light artillery (Arabistany). The advanced guard was under the command of Hussein Pacha, assisted by Ferhad Pacha (Stein). Ismail Pacha (Kmeti) commanded all the irregulars, and was enabled to make good use of that hitherto unserviceable body. The cannons had been supplied with 120 rounds each, and the soldiers with sixty cartridges per man. The pioneers had instructions to raise any necessary entrenchments, and to dig wells wherever it might be found practicable.

Shahin Pacha (Brainski) had left Kars the pre-

ceding day to examine the ground, and to pitch upon a favourable position; where, in case of a serious attack on the part of the enemy, the Turkish advanced guard could retreat, and, reinforced from Kars, might give battle with advantage.

The bulk of the army was unable to move from Kars until provisions became more abundant; for it was still living from day to day, and in the most irregular manner. For two days the troops had received no bread, merely a little flour, which they had to prepare as best they could. This was shameful, and such improvidence on the part of the Turkish authorities threatened to fill the hospitals once more. Typhus, which ravaged the army for several months, had nearly disappeared, but affections of the chest were prevalent, whilst scurvy had taken a most dangerous turn. The number of medical men had been greatly reduced by deaths from typhus, and they were now quite inadequate to the number of patients. Proper medicaments were also wanting, as well as practitioners.

Although the snow had finally disappeared and the roads were open, yet no increase of provisions had followed; on the contrary, the privations had increased. There were no baggage horses to carry up the stocks said to exist both in Trebizond and Erzeroum, and the supplies of the neighbourhood were exhausted. The most necessary articles, if

they could even be obtained, had reached a fabulous price.

The poor inhabitants were still occupied in driving out into the country those of their flocks and herds that had not perished from want during the winter famine. The roads were strewn with dead bodies of cattle that had not had strength to walk a few hundred yards, and had thus fallen from exhaustion. The grass had not grown to any height, from want of sufficient rain, so that even in sending out the cattle, the latter obtained but little nourishment. The graveyards alone furnished a bountiful supply of grass, and famished horses with gaunt-looking jackasses had been turned in to find an existence in these sad and well-filled places.

From Batoum we had late intelligence. Selim Pacha complained that his numerical weakness prevented him from making a decisive movement. His present force did not exceed 12,000 men: a number sufficient to keep Chekvetil, and to meet an attack from the Russians; but too weak to warrant an advance.

More money had arrived, and was very welcome. As I anticipated, much difficulty was experienced in passing the paper money lately introduced.

The soldiers received on account of their arrears to the extent of two months' pay.

Some cannon were reported to be on their way

here, and likewise several thousand Druses. If these gentlemen had displayed as much courage against the Russians as they did barbarity against the Maronites, their presence would have been more welcome.

We had no accounts from the division at Bayazid, or with respect to the movements of the Russians. From Gumri we were likewise without intelligence, and were ignorant of the intentions of the enemy. Russian irregulars and Cossacks had crossed the Arpa-tschai, but the report of the advance of the Turkish avant-garde towards the frontier soon caused them to disperse.

The hekim-bachis, or medical advisers of the army of Anatolia, were not illustrious either for natural abilities or scientific attainments; neither did they possess theoretical knowledge or practical talents. They had not even the benefit of experience; for in the East, a Levantine or European rushes into the medical profession when everything else has failed him, and with the same pertinacity that unfortunate people in England delight to commit themselves to the joys and sorrows, the fortune and vicissitudes, of the coal trade. The hekims at Kars consisted chiefly of Greeks, Italians, and native Turks. There was also a Polish hekim, who was very successful in clearing the hospital that had been entrusted to him: I will not reveal *where* his patients went to. Another

wonderful hekim, was a stout, jolly Hungarian, who spoke Turkish like a native, possessed two beautiful blood Arabs, and was constantly quarrelling with pachas and the muchirs ; yet, in the face of these admirable qualifications, I certainly should have hesitated in entrusting my cat, had I possessed such a quadruped, to the medical care of the above good-natured and admirable companion. Then there were some Italian surgeons, who were the dread of the poor invalids ; and Turkish practitioners who sustained the resignation of the dying soldiers with real sympathy, and with an Allah Kerim ! God is merciful, closed the eyes of their departed patients.

The Anatolian troops were entrusted to the medical superintendence of Sali Bey, a Turk, who had received an excellent education at Paris and was a clever physician. This gentleman had the management of the subaltern doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries, and was assisted in his labours by a talented and zealous Piedmontese physician, Dr. Medana. The Arabistany portion of the army was under the superintendence of Hussein Bey. The mosques and public buildings that had been converted into hospitals were divided between the two chief hekims, who appointed their subalterns to each ward. The hospitals were not furnished with clean bedding, and abounded in vermin of every

description. To the hospital orderlies, the atmosphere of these buildings also speedily proved fatal, and very few of the medical men survived the campaign. It must be remarked, that this mortality was limited to the ignorant and nervous portion of the medical body: not one surgeon or physician of real ability and medical education fell a victim to typhus, notwithstanding that all were alike exposed. The mortality amongst the Greeks was great; at one period of the month of March, as many as two medical men of that nation died nightly, and as many as nine expired in the course of the week. This terrible circumstance threw consternation into the hearts of the survivors. A great many of the older practitioners, who had accumulated some money in the Ottoman service, left before matters came to the worst, and basely deserted their charge. There was a German, whose name I regret to have forgotten, who left under most disgraceful circumstances. Can it be a matter of surprise, that the Turks, who judge of Europeans from their own eyes, should often hate and despise the Giaours?

The hospitals were ill-provided with medicine and necessary drugs, and the expostulations of Sali Bey and Dr. Medana, addressed to the muchir, fell useless to the ground. The authorities at Constantinople were greatly to blame for their neglect of this

army, and for the want of attention they displayed to its most urgent necessities.

To give an example of the careless manner (to use a mild expression) in which the medical chests were fitted out at Constantinople, I will mention, that on examining that of a regiment lately arrived, and composed of strong sturdy Kurds, it was found to contain remedies for ladies' ailments of a most interesting nature.

A Canadian, Dr. Fraser, who arrived at Kars in the month of April, was very successful in his treatment of the regiment entrusted to him, and, thereby, acquired the gratitude of his patients and the jealousy of his less-successful compeers.

A melancholy and, to those concerned in it, a disgraceful circumstance, was witnessed at the death of a Greek surgeon. This individual had become a renegade, and had embraced the Mahommedan belief. One morning he was stricken by typhus, and in three days he was a corpse. On his death-bed he was surrounded by Turks, who, in the guise of comforting him, earnestly watched his dying moments.

The unfortunate man, haunted with the enormity of his offence, cried out in his native tongue to the Virgin Mary for mercy. The Turks present comprehended the significance of the name he had

appealed to, and strove to persuade him to recant, and to die in their faith. The poor Greek, conscience-stricken, refused, and, openly denouncing the imposture of Mahomet, he expired with the name of the Virgin upon his lips.

That same night the corpse was interred in a grave three feet deep, and before morning had dawned the dogs had partly devoured the remains of the repentant apostate.

CHAPTER III.

ANNI, THE CITY OF RUINS.

SHOULD any of my readers have anticipated from the title of this chapter a romantic incident, of which some fair maiden adorning the sweet and gentle name of "Annie" is to be the heroine, they will be grievously disappointed.

Anni, to be brief, is the most wondrous spot in Armenia. It is, in fact, a city of the dead. High and massive walls, of a former age, surround an immense space where stand the ruins of the town, from the midst of which tower churches and palaces, nearly in perfect preservation; but totally uninhabited. When first I was asked if I had seen Anni, I must in all sincerity admit, that my thoughts and longings at once wandered back to old England, the land of the "Annies;" and for at least six hours, I was very miserable and homesick. In a distant land, the most insignificant object often strangely affects one, if it be at all connected with recollections of home or past

reminiscences. I remember once seeing a band of Syrian bashi-bazooks, who had dismounted and were crowding round a little bush with noisy and eager joy. This plant had reminded them of some similar shrub which grew in their distant and sultry homes, and thus they rudely gave vent to their inward sentiments of delight.

I must confess, to my shame, that I had never heard of the city of Anni; but in this respect, I shall find myself, probably, in excellent and numerous company. On the same principle that misery makes us acquainted with strange bed-fellows, the war with Russia has wonderfully increased our geographical acquirements. How few of us knew, or cared, about Erzeroum, Kars, Kertch, or Caffa, to say nothing of Bomarsund and that hard-spelling town Petropaulowski, before necessity had cast these places daily before our eyes. The war has developed the science of geography more than a severe course of study would have done; but then the expenses of the lesson threaten to be rather heavy.

No sooner had I heard of this remarkable city of ruins, than I determined upon visiting it without delay; and, therefore, obtained from the mu-chir an escort of regular cavalry, as a species of protection from the Cossacks, who haunted, at times, that part of the country.

On the 2nd of June, I made my preparations for departing on the morrow, and packed up supplies of coffee, sugar, and some bottles of that indispensable article, rum. I then cast my eyes on a Levantine almanack which I had brought with me from Trebizond. This almanack contained some wonderful predictions relative to events, and the weather. The 2nd of June was signalised as being threatened with an "Ubertossissima Campagna," which, no doubt, meant something very horrible ; the next day was to be marked by "piove," or rain. From a peculiar study of this almanack, I had discovered that when it threatened to be "piove" the weather was always very favourable, whilst with a "Caldo eccessivo," it was equally certain either to hail, or snow. I, therefore, retired to rest, in a happy consciousness of awakening in beautiful weather ; which, in fact, I did.

The escort, composed of ten cavalry men and a serjeant, arrived at six in the morning ; and accompanied by that indispensable nuisance, a dragoman, I left Kars. The plain was now in all its beauty. As far as the eye could reach, extended a succession of beautiful green meadows variegated with innumerable bright flowers. A little distance from the town, groups of soldiers were assembled seeking for the herbs, such as wild spinach, wild asparagus, and salads that abound on

the plain of Kars. After a few hours' ride, we arrived at Soobattan, where was stationed the advanced guard of the army of Kars. A long row of green and white tents extended picturesquely over the beautiful verdure of the plain, and in the distance sparkled the river Arpa-tschai. Still nearer to the rear shone out in bold relief, from the mountainous background, the white walls of Gumri, or Alexandropol. With my glass I easily discerned the Russian troops going through their drill before the latter town, and the patrols skirting the Arpa-tschai could be distinctly observed with the naked eye.

At the camp at Soobattan, where the Turks had been defeated the year before, everything was in excellent order, and the appearance of the men most satisfactory. Redoubts had been thrown up and the position of the camp strengthened. Much praise was due to Ferhad Pacha, who had organised the encampment, where the greatest regularity and military discipline were observed. On the road from Kars to Soobattan I encountered a country cart on which two poor fellows were stretched. One had lost an arm, and the other a leg, which had been amputated above the thigh, and both had been taken prisoners by the Russians in the last campaign. General Bebutoff, who commanded at Gumri, had now sent them back to the Turkish

head-quarters with a present of money and their liberty. This act, which at first sight appears most generous, will be appreciated in a very different light when I add, that accompanying the men was a Russian agent, who was the bearer of a letter from General Bebutoff to the muchir, and who had, of course, instructions to look well about him. So unsuspecting, or rather so imprudent, were the Turks, that this man was allowed to pass the outposts and the avant-guard with eyes unbound, and consequently the report he would take back to Gumri would be well worth the liberty accorded to the two disabled prisoners. Fortunately General Guyon was apprised of his arrival at Kars, and sent him back without delay, or otherwise he might have counted the number of tents and of cannon, without receiving hindrance from the Turkish authorities.

The country surrounding Soobattan was very pleasing; it presented as far as the eye could reach a series of plains and undulating hills covered with rich grass, and affording, in times of peace, a pasturage to countless flocks. The flocks of Anatolia are famous in the East, but now the fields were deserted, and not a single sheep met my view during this tour. The owners were apprehensive of their property being seized, and, therefore, jealously concealed their herds and flocks from the public eye,

and only sent them out to graze at night. I was much struck with the variety of races inhabiting the frontier villages of Turkey and Russia. Of three that I passed in succession, one was inhabited by Turks, another by Armenians, and the third by Persians. At the latter two villages my sight was rejoiced with a pleasure long denied it, namely, some small groves of trees—the first I had seen for three months. As I have before remarked, the neighbourhoods of Kars and of Erzeroum are entirely destitute of trees, which, to an Englishman, are almost a necessity. The sight of these few trees afforded me a singular satisfaction.

From Soobattan I pushed on, after a slight siesta on the deliciously soft grass, in the direction of Hadgi-Veli-Khoi, a little village on the road to Anni. Here were stationed the advanced posts of the cavalry, and at this village I passed the night. The sergeant of my escort slipped away, and presently returned with a gentlemanly-looking officer, who introduced himself as the bimbashi, or major, of the said sergeant's battalion, and who begged I would sup with him and establish my sleeping quarters in his house. This invitation I readily accepted, and then accompanied the bimbashi to his quarters. Speedily dinner was served, and I produced the little luxuries I had brought with me, which were duly appreciated. A bottle of porter

was pronounced a failure by my host ; who, however, with admirable courtesy, drank off a glass without betraying his disgust at the black muddy liquid. In confidence, he told my dragoman that the moment in question had been one of the most unpleasant of his life. After dinner several of the major's companions dropped in, and tea was prepared and pleasantly discussed.

One of the last arrivals was a jovial little fellow, who was an uzbachi, or captain. He was most zealous in his devotions to the deceitful fluid, and before long his lively conversation became still more animated, and he actually offered to sing a song. This I overruled without hesitation, though perhaps with too great hastiness ; but, really, had Lord Chesterfield himself once sustained the infliction of a Turkish song—and especially a comic one—his natural and acquired politeness and urbanity would not have prevented him from seriously opposing a repetition of the torture. The uzbachi was consoled with a fresh bottle of rum, which was passed round the room with such steady exactitude, that for a time, the bottle seemed to have resolved the long-sought problem of perpetual motion. When the last drop had vanished the uzbachi became sternly pathetic. He discoursed with solemn severity on the mismanagement that prevailed in his battalion, in his regiment, in the army, and throughout the vast empire, of which,

to use his own simile, he was an unfortunate unit—a miserable grain in a desert of vice. With a touching voice he spoke of the past splendour of Turkey, of his arrears of pay, of the kolassee who had been promoted over his head, of the private habits of the said kolassee, of the wretched prospects of his country, of a black mare with four white feet that was a faster and a better animal than any other in the army, and of several other equally interesting and connected subjects. To the florid language of the East the uzbachi united the hiccup of the West, and finally, after an impressive peroration of ten minutes' length, he dropped on his cushion and went off to sleep.

“Salam aleikum!” pronounced by a rich voice, startled the assembled company: it proceeded from a tall individual whose face was invisible, from the darkness of the room. The new arrival was welcomed, and introduced with due ceremony to the Inglis Bey. Georgio now lighted candles, and I inspected my new acquaintance, who, to my great surprise, was an Arab officer, completely black. The reader must not imagine a thick-lipped negro with large ears and extensive shins, but an elegant, well-built man, who wore his uniform with peculiar grace, and was endowed with one of the noblest heads I had ever seen. For the first time I now realised the idea of Othello, and comprehended that the Venetian

general could have inspired the gentle Desdemona with other and more tender feelings than those created by mere interest or admiration of his martial qualities. The new comer was a captain in the rediff of imperial guards, and had been promoted for bravery displayed in action. His regiment was at Soobattan, a village I had passed in the morning.

The conversation speedily turned on the subject of the war, and the dissatisfaction expressed by the Turks present at the conduct of their pachas was unanimous. I had now to listen to the individual grievances of each man. One had served fifteen years and was still a captain, whilst his former sergeants, who had attracted the attention and favour of the colonel, were now majors and lieutenant-colonels. One present, a major, had seen the present muchir carrying the pipes of Rizza Pacha as chiboukgee. One and all declared they would not fight in the approaching campaign; for, said one, if we display courage, the intriguants will only crush us with their jealousy, whilst, if we are killed or wounded, what will become of our families? The loudest of all in the avowal of his determination not to fight was the black captain. Yet two months had not elapsed before I saw him behaving like a lion at Kürekdere, and dying the death of a hero.

The discussion of one's grievances has the effect of lightening the mind, and after everybody had

unburthened himself the society became more jovial. The conversation turned on Europe and "Frankistan." Only two of the officers present had been to Constantinople, and these knew comparatively nothing of the more civilised districts of that metropolis, Pera, or Galata. One of the orderlies of my host, who with his companions had been listening with greedy attention to the marvels of the West as described by my dragoman, here interrupted the conversation by informing his master that a bashi-bazook who had actually been to Europe was in the adjoining house. "Bring in the fellow at once," was the universal exclamation, and out went the orderlies to produce this living miracle.

In a few moments the orderlies returned, accompanied by a tall, famished-looking individual, with sunburnt features lighted up by sharp, half-facetious, half-suspicious eyes. A thick lambskin cloak covered the shoulders of the bashi-bazook, and testified to his Kurdish nationality. With a deep obeisance, the great traveller saluted the company, and, crossing his arms with much solemnity, he turned to me and said, "How do dó?" To this amiable inquiry after my health, I responded in favourable terms, and added, "They say, Hadgi,* you are a great traveller, and wonderful to remark, you speak

* In the East everybody is, or wishes to be thought, a Hadgi. Not a tenth part of the Hadgis have in reality seen either Mecca or Medina.

English." To this, the bashi-bazook replied, "Yes—no—horse—wine—salt—broorle (bridle?)—storrops (stirrups?)—bir," and then, having exhausted his vocabulary, he seated himself at the end of the room, where he received the congratulations of officers and orderlies. The latter made no attempt to conceal their intense admiration for the marvellous talents possessed by their countryman, and addressed to him question after question with respect to his travels and adventures. It appeared that the bashi-bazook had not always been a bashi-bazook, but at some remote period had accompanied a Pacha, in the quality of groom, to Stamboul, where he had been engaged by an English traveller who was journeying through Roumelia and Greece. In time he accompanied his new master to Malta, where he had picked up his very unsatisfactory knowledge of the English language, and his limited experience of European manners. He embarked with the English bey for Alexandria, where he had been discharged by his master, who had returned to Europe. At that place he ran through the capital he had been able to accumulate through the generosity of his late master, and when reduced to want, he adopted the profession of bashi-bazook. Where he had obtained his horse, or arms, he forgot to mention, and it might have been considered indiscreet to have addressed him that question. A cup of tea

strongly sugared was handed to the traveller, who commenced discoursing to his audience on the marvels of Pera, the theatre and confectioners' shops, and on the beauties of Malta, and the wonderful English soldiers who formed its garrison.

When he had exhausted these interesting subjects, and the conversation was flagging (for my own part, I was sleepy, and wished the bashi-bazook and the majors and uzbachis anywhere else than in the room that they were now filling with a dense cloud of tobacco-smoke), the Kurd suddenly exclaimed, "The English bey recalls to my recollection a remarkable event that happened in our village: it was the first time that I ever cast eyes on a Giao—I mean a foreigner."

"Let us have the story by all means," issued from the mouths of the assembled company, and the bashi-bazook commenced the following tale. I will not record all the interruptions that accompanied the said narration, and which proceeded chiefly from the uzbachi, who was now awake and was coaxing the dragoman, in vain, for a further supply of rum.

"I was born," commenced the bashi-bazook, "in Mehrivan, a village which lies near the frontiers of Turkey and Persia, and was a very convenient spot for the transaction of the particular business in which our family and friends were engaged."

An indecorous laughter here proceeded from the

orderlies, who had apparently divined the nature of the peculiar commerce in which the worthy relatives of the storyteller had been engaged. This it afterwards appeared, consisted in nothing more or less than in stealing cattle, or goods, on the Persian territory, and selling them on the Turkish; or, sometimes, by way of compensation, of robbing the Turks, and disposing of the proceeds to the Persians. With a mild look of reproach directed towards the ill-conditioned orderlies, the Kurd continued.

“One evening, in the Ramazan, many, many Ramazans ago, when I was a little child and could neither guide a horse nor wield a lance, I was lying on the grass outside our village, and watching my father's sheep that were grazing around me. Of a sudden I heard a sneeze, which proceeded from behind me, and on looking round, I saw what for the moment appeared to my frightened eyes, an evil spirit: a man, in an unknown costume stood before me. With one hand enveloped in a curious cloth, he had seized his nose and was making a startling noise, and the other hand held a bundle of flowers and a wonderful-looking box. The face of this apparition was red and fierce, and was enveloped in a kind of immense turban of white linen. A little behind this man were two others, leading horses laden with boxes and tents. No sooner had I recovered from my fright, than leaving sheep

and all, I sprang to my feet and ran with my whole strength in the direction of the village. The stranger called after me, in a loud angry voice, but that only added swiftness to my legs. I ran into my father's house, and breathlessly told him of the sight I had seen. My father contracted his brows, and taking down from a shelf his long rifle, said to me, 'Hassan, go to the house of Baba Mustafa, and tell him to bring his sons and their arms—go swiftly, my son!' I returned in a few minutes with Mustafa and his sturdy family, all armed to the teeth. A low conversation was held between the two elder men, whilst the sons of Mustafa loaded their rifles.

"Presently, the whole party set out stealthily in the direction of the strangers, whilst I acted as a guide, and crept on a-head. When we came in sight of the horses, we found that they had been cast loose to graze, whilst the two individuals who had led them, and were evidently serving men, were fixing a large white tent on the meadow. Taking advantage of some rocks, we came unperceived to within a few yards' distance of the strange red-faced man with the angry countenance. He was now bent towards the ground, and with a peculiar object in his hand, was examining a blade of grass. The sons of Mustafa laughed softly, and said, 'The man is mad;' but old Mustafa exclaimed,

‘It is a Giaour hekim—a gold discoverer.’ Then the father of the young men, and my father, conversed in a low voice, and I saw that they were not of one mind. My father glanced at his gun and then at the stranger, who was now speaking angrily to the two serving men. But old Mustafa shook his head, and whispered, ‘It is a wise hekim, and we will keep him, and he shall give to us all great riches.’ Then, my father, calling the young men, communicated to them his plans, which they swiftly executed. Two sons of old Mustafa rushed with their father on the two serving men, and hurled them to the ground; my father, with the third youth, sprang on the red-faced stranger and seized him by the arms. When the latter had recovered from his surprise, his face became still more red, and he pronounced words of anger in an unknown tongue; he tried to disengage himself, and succeeded in striking the son of Mustafa to the ground with his closed hand. My father then took a pistol from his breast, and with the butt-end of his weapon he dealt a blow to the stranger, who dropt like dead to the ground. Our friends in the village, who had by this time gathered to the spot, now seized upon the servants and the horses, and taking up the fallen stranger in their arms, they conveyed him to the village, where he speedily recovered from the effects of the blow.

“The stranger had hired the serving men, who were Armenians, in the town of Van, and they knew nothing of their master, excepting that he was always angry, and collected all kinds of stones and flowers. One of the horses was laden with the stones that had been thus collected. Old Mustafa greedily examined them in the hope that they were of precious value. Great was the disappointment of the elders of the village, when the stones were examined. They were discovered to be those which covered our meadows, and which we children used to throw at the dogs and birds of prey. But on the person of the red-faced stranger was much gold and silver, and wonderful papers covered with strange hieroglyphics. When these were taken from him, the angry man roared like a mighty lion, and foamed at the mouth. Old Mustafa detected the object held by the stranger when first we perceived him, and this was an article of wonderful properties. It was a piece of bright glass, and when you looked through it, everything became increased in size fiftyfold. Old Mustafa looked at his nails through this evil object, and dropt it with astonishment; at which the stranger laughed.

“After some weeks had elapsed, the hekim was allowed by my father to wander over the fields under the guard of two or three of the young villagers, who were ordered to watch every movement of the

stranger, to prevent him from concealing the gold which he was intent on discovering. But no precious stones or gold or silver were ever found by the wise doctor, and the villagers became impatient. He returned daily with a quantity of common flowers and stones, which he placed aside with care. At the expiration of some months the hekim acquired a knowledge of our dialect and told us of his origin. He was a native of Frankistan, and was like our guest," turning to me—"an English Bey. When old Mustafa enquired of him why he did not find gold to divide amongst those who had spared his life, the hekim laughed aloud. The English Bey was a wonderful man; he was either continually angry or he laughed like an evil spirit.

"One day, to shorten my narrative, the brother of my father fell ill and was likely to die. The women of his family assembled round the sick man, and called to Allah to be merciful, but he hourly grew weaker and weaker. Then my father thought on the hekim, and conducted him to the house of the dying man. The English hekim took the sick man by the hand, and looked thoughtfully at his tongue. He then left the room, and asking my father for a box that had fallen to him as his share of the spoils of the stranger, he opened it and cautiously mixed up two or three powders in water. This he gave to the sick man, who could with difficulty be wrought upon to

drink the liquid. In a short time my uncle went off into a calm sleep, and awoke better. He continued to take the liquid prepared by the wise hekim, and in a week was completely restored. The joy of our family was great at this event, and the village was loud in its praise of the English Bey, who had thus conquered the sickness of our relative. To display his sense of gratitude, my uncle proposed to the stranger who had saved his life to bestow his daughter upon him in marriage, with a goodly tract of land, provided he would settle down for the rest of his life in the village and abandon the idea of returning to his country. The daughter of my uncle was a fair maiden of fifteen, and pleasing to the eye. Also did the hekim accept the offer of my relation, and promised to become one of us. Old Mustafa, who was sore at heart because the stranger had not endowed us all with riches, was alone discontented. The hekim was now no longer angry; he dressed in clothes similar to those we wore, and became, in fact, one of our tribe. The marriage of my cousin and the stranger took place amidst great rejoicings. My father contributed a kid, and all our relations bestowed gifts upon the bride. For many weeks our new brother and his young wife were happy; but then Fatima, who spoke much but not wisely, at times roused the anger of her husband, and discord crept into their dwelling. One day the

English Bey announced his intention of paying a visit to the neighbouring village ; and as he proposed taking Fatima his wife with him, no suspicions were entertained by my father or my uncle. To prevent the stranger from escaping, he had not been allowed to possess a horse, on which he might have fled from our village ; he therefore walked with his wife from their dwelling, in the direction he had named. The evening came, and neither Fatima or her husband returned. The next day and the following one dawned without either having made their appearance. Then were the fears of the relations of the young wife aroused, and they proceeded to the village which the stranger had proposed to visit. At that place nothing could be learnt of the husband or wife, and my father and uncle returned in consternation to our village.

“Months elapsed without the return of Fatima or the foreign hekim, when by accident it was discovered that a Persian peasant had encountered the pair not far from the frontiers of Persia. In time it was ascertained that the English Bey, the wise hekim, had taken his wife in the direction of that empire, on the frontiers of which he encountered a caravan of Persian merchants. With the latter the wicked stranger concluded a bargain : he delivered to them his wife in exchange for a donkey. On the back of this donkey did the hekim proceed to

Tabriz, where he in time arrived in safety. Of my cousin Fatima nothing certain was ascertained. It is supposed she was taken to Stamboul; but although I stared every woman in the face during my stay in that town of delight, I never cast eyes on my unfortunate cousin. Thus terminate my recollections of the first inhabitant of Frankistan it was my fate to encounter."

The bashi-bazook having concluded his tale, was warmly congratulated by the whole assembled company, who now commenced to disperse. I took my leave of the black captain, the drunken uzbachi, and the others; and, lying down opposite to my host the major, was in a short time transported to the land of dreams.

After a sound night's rest, I breakfasted; and, accompanied by the major, another Turkish officer, and the escort, proceeded towards Anni. After an hour's ride, we gained an eminence, from whence we obtained a magnificent view of the surrounding city. In the distance was Kars on one side, Gumri on the other, and far to the east towered the solitary white-capped mountain of Ararat. The plain beneath was the scene of much activity. At a few hundred yards below ran the river Arpatschai, on one side of which the dirty-looking Cossack patrols were gazing on a wild band of bashi-bazooks who were capering about on the Turkish side of the

river. Both parties kept out of musket or rifle range. Towards noon the heavens darkened, and a frightful storm broke over our heads; the thunder rolled scarcely without cessation, and the flashes of the lightning were terrific. A furious rain soon wetted us to the skin; so, dashing spurs into our horses, we galloped without stopping up to the very walls of Anni.

The ruins of the city of Anni occupy a large, elevated plain, rising abruptly from the river Arpa-tschai, and are surrounded with an ancient double wall, strengthened by high and massive towers. These walls are almost perfect. Passing through a ruined gateway, ornamented with figures in coloured bricks, we came on the site of the city, which must have been of vast extent. Not a house is standing, but the ancient streets can be traced by the regular position of the stones, and the accumulated heaps of rubbish where the houses once stood. From this vast sea of mounds and stones, rise, in different directions, the remains of Christian churches and Turkish mosques. I counted seventeen churches with standing walls, and others may have escaped my observation. I went over four or five of these churches, and was surprised at their excellent preservation; many of them might be reconstructed at no great expense or trouble. Two that I visited were of cathedral size, and ornamented with elegant

carvings; the whole of the interiors, including even the columns, were covered with fresco paintings, the outlines of which were indistinct, but the colours, in which blue predominated, were fresh and vivid. The external architecture of these churches is simple, being planned in the shape of a cross, and elevated to a dome. Some of the ruined churches are in a more fantastic style of architecture, and belong to no particular order. A castle and a ruined palace complete the number of standing edifices. The river below is spanned by a ruined bridge. Were the site of the town excavated, no doubt many objects of interest would be found. Popular report speaks of immense riches which are hidden, and have never been discovered; but popular report is generally wrong, and I do not suppose this instance to be an exception to the rule. The Arpa-tschai, which flows beneath Anni, was at this moment very rapid, owing to the severe rains which had swollen its course. This river, or rather stream, separates Russia from Turkey. On the opposite side of the river, and just beyond gunshot, there was a Cossack station.

Anni is uninhabited, but a post of bashi-bazooks had been lately established there, and these irregulars had turned their horses into the churches, not from any fanatic motive, but from want of any other suitable accommodation. Beneath Anni there are vast catacombs which extend to a great and un-

explored distance. The Sultan had formed the intention of rebuilding Anni and populating it, at the expense of the surrounding villages, when the war broke out. It is still possible that, at some future period, Anni will again occupy a position amongst cities. The approaching night forced me to quit the ruined town before I had half explored it or satisfied my curiosity. Not possessing a knowledge of the Armenian language, I could not decipher the inscriptions on the walls, and I never more regretted my archæological ignorance than in this visit to these interesting ruins. The vast extent of the ruined city, with its churches rising from the crumbled masses of stone and brick, and the dread silence that reigned over the fated town, were highly impressive. On this spot, many hundreds of thousands of human beings had shed their life's blood under the remorseless sword of Eastern tyrants, and every stone could have told its tale of rapine and cruelty. I have no means of ascertaining the past history of Anni, otherwise than from dubious and contradictory sources.* I gleaned the following meagre and traditionary account from the Armenian Bishop of Kars, who, in parentheses, was more communicative and polite than erudite.

* An interesting work, entitled "Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and H. Dwight in Armenia," published in New York, contains an excellent *résumé* of Armenian history, including the fate of Anni.

It would appear, according to the above doubtful authority, that at one period of the Greek empire, a king of the name of Nusherivan reigned over the tracts now comprised in Russian Armenia, and in Turkish Armenia to a distance beyond Erzeroum. Anni was the capital of the kingdom. The Greek empire waged war against this monarch, and the city of Anni was destroyed. The country afterwards fell into the possession of the Turks, who reconstructed the town, chiefly with the ruined materials, and converted the least damaged of the churches into mosques, by adding minarets to the pile. At a later period, in the war with Persia, when the latter power under Alp Aslan conquered the province of Erivan, since reconquered by Russia, the city of Anni fell again a victim to the vanquisher, and was totally destroyed, with the exception of the ruined buildings which exist to this day.

Besides the above catastrophe, the town of Anni had been engaged in a mortal struggle with the ancient kings of Georgia, and with the surrounding petty monarchs of Armenia.

On returning to Kars, I found the army drawn up in order of battle on the plain, and going through field movements. The army had received further reinforcements during my short absence.

A regiment of infantry, and one of cavalry, with a regiment of artillery, had arrived from Aleppo.

These all belonged to the Arabistany division, and were the best troops of the empire. Two thousand five hundred irregulars were announced as having left Bagdad for Kars.

At the above review, two little incidents of an unpleasant nature occurred. Two French officers were unhorsed, to the great edification of all the assembled chiboukgees. An altercation, moreover, took place between General Guyon and Vely Pacha, the third in command, relative to the absurd manner in which the last-named officer had drawn up his division. The muchir very properly interfered, but not before the dispute had attained an unpleasant height.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARMY OF BATOUM—BASHI-BAZOOK SKIRMISHES.

THE reader has already been made acquainted with the fact that, independent of the army of Anatolia, whose head-quarters were established at Kars, another Ottoman force commanded by Selim Pacha occupied Batoum and menaced Kutois and the Coast of Circassia. This army, after having captured a Russian fort constructed near the frontier, named Chefketil, or Fort St. Nicholas, had advanced on Urzughetti, a town situated on the road to Kutois, which the enemy had evacuated. The communications between Selim Pacha and the muchir of the Anatolian army were interrupted, and instead of combining their efforts and concentrating their respective strength against one given point, the two commanders preserved a jealous independence and maintained a perfect freedom of action. This insane and unpatriotic feeling resulted in the total defeat of both muchirs. Selim Pacha was the first to witness the destruction of his

army, and it was then that the enemy, being enabled to concentrate his forces, fell upon the army of Kars and totally routed it.

On the 9th of June a considerable force of Russians advanced from Gumri and drove in the advanced posts of the Turkish avant-garde in the Kars-tschai. A skirmish, as will presently be seen, ensued, and then the enemy retreated within the walls of Gumri. For many days this extraordinary advance and subsequent retreat of the Russians filled the minds of the camp with surprise, and every conjecture failed to divine the tactics of the enemy. At length a spy brought intelligence from Gumri which promised to throw a certain light upon the enemy's movements. This individual reported that thirty waggons had arrived from Kutois laden with wounded, and that a severe action had taken place between Selim Pacha and the enemy, in which the latter had been worsted.

For a time the army of Kars was filled with joy and gratitude at the unexpected success obtained by Selim Pacha, and as no communication had been received from that general, it was presumed that he had advanced on Kutois and was menacing that important position.

One day, however, a sinister rumour circulated in the camp to the effect that some peasants had arrived from Ardahan, and that, according to intel-

ligence received in that place, the Turkish army of Urzughetti had sustained a fearful defeat. The next day a tatâr arrived from Constantinople with news that evidently confirmed that report. A grave silence succeeded to the confident anticipation of the muchir and pachas, and a general impression of impending evil weighed down the spirits of all. My next messenger from Erzeroum cleared up any doubts that might still exist with respect to the catastrophe that had befallen Selim Pacha and his unfortunate army.

Mr. Brandt, the British consul, kindly forwarded to me an extraordinary supplement of the Russian newspaper, "Le Caucase," published at Tiflis, which, under the date of Wednesday the 9th of June, contained a complete account of the action that had resulted in the defeat of Selim Pacha. This newspaper was received from Tabriz; and it may be inferred thereby, that the slightest advantage obtained by Russia is circulated at once throughout that kingdom and the East. I may here mention that so rapid were the communications between Russia and Persia, that intelligence of importance infallibly penetrated to Kars and Erzeroum, in a more speedy manner through Tabriz than by means of Constantinople. Thus the bombardment of Odessa was known by the Persian merchants of Kars, and was circulated by them many days previous to the

arrival of the intelligence from Stamboul. As a specimen of Russian style, no less than to describe the victory obtained by Prince Andronikoff, I subjoin the following account, as published by the said newspaper "Le Caucase," of the battle of Urzughetti:—

"NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF KOUBOULET, IN
ASIATIC TURKEY.

"We hasten without a moment's delay, to publish a new victory with which God has crowned our arms. At the same time that Lieutenant Colonel Prince Cristoff defeated a Turkish detachment on the 27th of May (8th of June) between the heights of Nigoithi and Lantchkbroutti (?), the Lieutenant General Prince Andronikoff took his dispositions to advance with the strength of the corps d'armée of Gouriel, in order to throw back the Ottoman troops stationed in that neighbourhood. In this view he concentrated on the 29th of May (June 10) at Tchekhothour, eight battalions of infantry, with two field-pieces, and eight pieces of mountain artillery, and advanced on the following day by the high road of Urzughetti. Meanwhile another column, composed of four battalions of infantry, with six light pieces, and two hill cannon, under the command of Colonel Korganoff, marched on the village of Akty. The height of the river Soupsa prevented the

advance of the troops, until a bridge had been constructed over that river; a work which was executed in two days. On the 2nd (14th) of June, a detachment, composed of eleven battalions of infantry, with eight field-pieces, and ten hill cannon, 400 Cossacks, the Georgian mounted cohort, 600 Imeritian militia on foot, 500 mounted Imeritian militia, and six cohorts of Grusian militia, traversed the river Soupsa, and passed that night eight versts from Urzughetti. The Muchir Selim Pacha, commanding the Turkish forces, having heard that we were constructing a bridge over the Soupsa, ordered his troops to concentrate at Urzughetti, after which he commenced his retreat with so much precipitation, that provisions, and even part of the invalids, were left behind in that town. The Turkish army having retired beyond the river Tcholak, took up a very strong position between the villages of Cakouthi and Djchandjour, in the Sandjak (department) of Kouboulet. Its force consisted in twelve battalions of regular infantry, eight battalions of rediffs, and 14,000 (?) bashi-bazooks, with 13 pieces of artillery. On the 4th (16th) of June, at four in the morning, Prince Andronikoff led his troops to an assault on the fortified position of the enemy. (Here follows a long description of the regiments concerned in the action.) The Gourilien militia commenced the engagement by opening a well-sustained fire on the

enemy's right flank, whilst our eight pieces of light artillery opened their fire on his centre. The wooded ground occupied by our troops concealed their movements; and it would seem that the Turks had expected that our principal attack would be directed against their centre and right flank. In the heat of the action the left flank of the enemy was vigorously attacked by the two heavy columns commanded by Generals Maydel and Brunner. This sudden assault put the Turkish ranks into confusion; but reinforced by the reserve, a murderous conflict took place. Our eight pieces then approached the enemy, at a short distance, and opened a grape discharge. Our reserves and cavalry at the same time advanced, and the enemy, pushed by all our strength, broke and fled. The defeat of the enemy was complete, and his loss immense. Our trophies of this day were three entrenched camps (?), all the baggage, thirteen cannon, thirty-five flags, and an immense number of arms."

The Russian version of the battle of Urzughetti, though slightly disfigured with exaggeration, may be depended on. The defeat of the Turks was complete, and was caused chiefly by the absence of sufficient supplies of ammunition. Selim Pacha, the muchir of the Batoum army, was immediately replaced by Mustafa Pacha, and was summoned to

Stamboul to explain his past proceedings. That worthy by no means comprehended that so much noise should be created about his defeat. "When the Russians first advanced," Selim Pacha was heard to remark, "I was asleep, and could not therefore be responsible for the battle. When we engaged we had little or no ammunition, and as I could not be expected to make ammunition, I am blameless of the consequences. With respect to the thirteen cannon that were taken, rather than be annoyed about them, I will pay their value out of my own pocket." Selim Pacha omitted to explain how he would replace the loss of the two or three thousand soldiers, who fell victims in the action to his wonderful stupidity. At the same moment that the Russians under Prince Andronikoff advanced against the army of Batoum, two feints were made by the army of Gumri under General Bebutoff. One of these feigned attacks was directed from Akhalzik against Ardahan, and the other against the advanced guard of the army of Kars.

On the 8th of June, at midday, a messenger arrived from Ardahan with the intelligence that the Russian forces at Akhalzik, some 8000 strong, threatened the place. The Turkish left wing of the army of Anatolia was stationed at Ardahan, and mustered a force of 5000 men.

A council of war was immediately assembled, and

Kerim Pacha, the reis or second in command of the army of Kars, left for Ardahan in the course of the afternoon, and reinforced that garrison with two regiments of infantry and a battalion of Chasseurs which he took with him. This expected movement against Ardahan coinciding with the one directed against Bayazid, led to the supposition than an attack against the whole line was meditated by the enemy, and that we should be attacked at Kars. Great activity was displayed in the camp, and measures to prevent a surprise were also adopted. Cannon were mounted on the newly constructed redoubts, and fresh works were hastily thrown up on the plain.

Scarcely had Kerim Pacha departed with his division to Ardahan, than a second intelligence arrived and startled the weak nerves of the Muchir Zarif Mustafa Pacha. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a mounted bashi-bazook chief arrived at a furious gallop in Kars with the following report from General Kmeti, who commanded the irregulars and the outposts. "The enemy (10,000 strong) with artillery and cavalry have passed the Arpa-tschai, and are advancing." An hour later Fezzi Bey (General Colman), who commanded the vanguard of the army stationed at Soobattan, confirmed the report, and announced that he had taken every disposition to repulse the enemy, or fall back on the

army of Kars, in case of being attacked by an overwhelming force.

Great was the excitement in Kars that night. Intelligence was anxiously awaited from Bayazid, Ardahan, and from the advanced guard of our army at Soobattan. Half the troops were under arms, and the inhabitants were only waiting the first boom of cannon to retire towards Erzeroum with their wives and families.

Messengers, however, arrived in the night from Generals Kmeti and Colman, who reported that the enemy had not attempted to cross the Kars-tschai and was returning to Gumri. The following morning full particulars were received from Kmeti. On the advance of the enemy he had assembled all the bashi-bazooks scattered over the frontier villages, and concentrating them, slowly retired before the Russians. Arrived at the Kars-tschai the enemy halted, and towards evening retreated in good order. A cloud of Russian irregulars hovered about the retiring army, in order to protect it from the Turkish bashi-bazooks. Ismail Pacha (Kmeti) then gave orders for the latter to advance, and having swam across the Arpa-tschai, they fell upon the Russians with a vigour quite unexpected. The Russian irregulars were dispersed by a much less number of Turks, led by Hadgi Denera and Colonel Tevis. These then fell upon the Russian infantry. After

some hard fighting the Russian rear-guard came up, and, having deployed, opened their artillery on the bashi-bazooks. These were of course obliged to retire before the fire, and returned to their former quarters. The bashi-bazooks lost fifteen men killed and had many wounded. Some of the latter had already arrived in Kars. The Russian loss was greater than that of the Turks, for many of the bodies were carried off, yet twelve corpses were left on the field.

The bashi-bazooks behaved manfully, and although only 1500 strong against 10,000 regulars they did not hesitate to charge. A regiment of regular cavalry was sent from Soobattan to support the bashi-bazooks, but arrived too late to take part in the skirmish. This little engagement proved how well the much maligned bashi-bazooks could behave, when led on by courageous and skilful leaders. From that day forth the irregulars placed entire confidence in General Kmeti, who was subsequently enabled to profit largely by the power he had obtained over their brave and unsophisticated minds. How Kmeti escaped the aim of the Russian riflemen, was at the time inconceivable: he alone of his 1500 companions wore the full uniform of a Turkish Pacha, and thus offered a tempting mark to the Russian skirmishers. In the retreat across the Kars-tschai, General Kmeti nearly perished in the stream: his horse stumbled and rolled over him,

and it was only through the devotion of a few bashi-bazooks that he was saved. The Russian cavalry entered the Kars-tschai with the bashi-bazooks, and a hand to hand encounter took place in that river.

On the 10th of June, the enemy broke up his encampment before Gumri and retired behind the walls of that fortress. For three weeks no movement of importance occurred on either side. At Bayazid the bashi-bazooks shortly had occasion to distinguish themselves. A Cossack regiment having advanced from Erivan in order to push forward a reconnaissance on Bayazid, was attacked by 500 Turkish irregulars and dispersed with considerable loss. By the end of June, all the Turkish reinforcements that had arrived at Erzeroum marched on Kars, and strengthened the army encamped before that town. A few hundred invalids only remained at Erzeroum.

After the departure of the troops from the latter city to Kars, the roads between the two towns and between Erzeroum and Trebizond became very insecure. The Kurds, no longer awed by the presence of the military, gave way to their natural penchant and several cases of murder and robbery were recorded.

The Trebizond and Batoum roads were likewise infested by Lazes, or inhabitants of Lazistan, a thieving murderous race, who attacked the caravans

with impunity and were guilty of the most barbarous cruelty. The efforts of the civil Pacha of Erzeroum were unequal to restore order to the troubled regions.

The defeat of the army of Batoum naturally created much discouragement in Kars. It was felt that the Muchir was greatly to blame for the misfortune incurred by Selim Pacha. The whole plan of operations concerted by the Turks in Asia had been faulty and senseless. Instead of concentrating their strength on a small line of attack or defence, they had divided their forces over a vast extent of ground, and in two isolated armies under independent leaders. I have observed that the communications between the two Muchirs, Selim Pacha and Zarif Pacha were rare, and that no plan of operations had been determined on by the two armies. In my opinion, the Muchir Zarif Pacha of this army was partly responsible for the disaster which had befallen the army of Batoum, for had he but properly organised the espionage system, as he had often been advised to do, he would have been made acquainted with the movements of the enemy; and a feint advance on his part would have frustrated the intentions of the former, and have avoided the calamity I am now commenting on.

Intelligence of a melancholy nature was received from Tiflis, to the effect that a Turkish staff officer

who had volunteered to penetrate into the interior of Georgia, had been detected and executed by the enemy. This unfortunate officer, who was distinguished for much natural ability and zeal for the service, had left behind him a wife and family, who were at Stamboul, totally unprovided for. In a military point of view, the Muchir had acted unwisely in appointing to a similar mission a staff officer, who was consequently acquainted with everything relating to the army and staff to which he belonged. A spy should be ignorant of everything, even of the real fact which you wish to ascertain, for the fear of the gallows has inspired many a confession and betrayal.

A rumour was also current that General Prince Bebutoff, the Russian commander at Gumri, had died from typhus. This intelligence was subsequently effectually contradicted by the presence of that general at the battle of Kurekdere. General Prince Bebutoff is an Armenian by birth, and possesses great influence over the Georgian population.

Deserters from the enemy continued to arrive at our advanced posts: one day several cavalry men deserted with arms and horses. The greatest discontent was said to reign amongst the Polish soldiers in the army of Gumri: six Poles contrived to escape, and succeeded in crossing the Arpa-tschai. Here, however, they strayed from their way, and

having entered one of the frontier Armenian villages, were captured by its inhabitants and delivered back to the Russians: the next day all six were executed. It was imagined that the advance of the Turkish regular army to the frontier would encourage a general desertion in the Polish and Mussulman ranks of the Russians; but these hopes were not realised. A third of the Russian army in Gumri was composed of Georgians or Mussulmans.

Owing to the greater abundance of provisions, the health of the army was gradually improving, notwithstanding that the weather, which was cold and rainy, was unfavourable to a tent life. A great deal of scurvy still existed, and for that, as for other ailments, no proper medicaments were at hand. The medical staff at Kars had much to complain of, and the position of its members became more untenable each day. Half of the medical men who had remained with the army had fallen victims to their zeal, and the remainder passed through many trials and hardships only to reap ingratitude and neglect.

Nothing occurred in the month of June in our social existence at Kars, of any interest, with the exception of Colonel Thorne's departure; an event which was a source of deep regret and sorrow. The health of the Colonel had been gradually sinking during his stay in Armenia, and it became pain-

fully evident that a longer residence on his part in that trying climate, would have been attended with melancholy results ; he therefore determined on returning at once to England in order to recruit his shattered health. I deeply felt the loss of Colonel Thorne's society, and experienced, in common with all the Europeans at Kars, a severe shock on hearing shortly afterwards of his melancholy death. Colonel Thorne expired at Constantinople, ten days after his arrival at that town.

Two gentlemen in this part of Asia, slightly connected with the journal for which Colonel Thorne had undergone many fatigues and annoyances, died shortly afterwards within a short space of each other. The one, a Doctor Mendlesohn, stationed at Bayazid, succumbed to typhus ; and the other, an Englishman, Mr. Balfour, expired from a pulmonary complaint in Erzeroum. These three deaths threw a temporary gloom over the minds of the Europeans in Kars and Erzeroum. I saw poor Mr. Balfour a few days before his death, when his recovery was still hoped for ; but I fear that the medical attendant, a Maltese, had scarcely calculated the strength of his patient's constitution. The Reverend Mr. Peabody, the American missionary established at Erzeroum, Mr. Zohrab, dragoman to the British Consulate, and Major Bonfanti, who was in Erzeroum at the time, were with the dying

Englishman in his last moments, which were calm and peaceful. The body was interred with much ceremony in the Armenian burial-ground : the corpse was accompanied to its last dwelling-place by all the European population, and the whole consulate body ; and the impressive burial service was read by the Reverend Mr. Peabody.

A most affecting incident connected with the death of Mr. Balfour is painfully engrafted on my memory. Three days before the battle of Inkermann an officer stopped before my little tent, which was pitched with the fourth British division, and pronouncing my name, inquired if I had not been in Asia with the Army of Kars. I replied in the affirmative, when the officer introduced himself as Captain Stanley, of the 57th regiment, and enquired of me if I had not been acquainted with his brother-in-law, poor Balfour, who had died in Erzeroum. I immediately invited Captain Stanley into my tent, and acquainted him with all the particulars of that melancholy event. It had reached his ears that I had only recently returned from Armenia, and he wished to learn from my own lips the true account of the last moments of his departed relative. I rejoiced to be able to relieve the apprehension of Captain Stanley, who naturally feared that the end of his brother-in-law in a strange land had been, perhaps, accelerated by want of comfort or attention.

In conformity with the great desire expressed by Captain Stanley, I promised to write to Mrs. Stanley, the sister of the deceased, acquainting her with the calm death of her brother, and of the serenity, Christian resignation, and hope, which had characterised his last moments.

On the morrow I wrote a letter to that effect, and on the 4th of November Captain Stanley called at my tent, took luncheon with me, and received the letter in question. The next day was the memorable 5th of November, the glorious, but sanguinary day of Inkermann.

When the victory was completed and the enemy driven in headlong flight across the Tschernaya, the consideration of the sad losses of the day, the price of that wonderful victory, dismissed from the mind every sentiment of legitimate triumph. The fourth division had suffered seriously, and in the person of its commander, Sir George Cathcart, the whole British army deplored the loss of a most able and energetic champion: Goldie, Seymour, and many other brilliant names belonging to that same division, also purchased that day with their lives an imperishable renown. One of the most lamented of the many heroes who found at Inkermann a glorious and enviable death was Captain Stanley, who fell pierced by a musket-ball, at the head of his regiment. A nobler or more chivalrous

soldier never laid down his life for his country's honour.

That night was one of the most melancholy ones of my existence, when with the impression of the day still before my imagination, I reflected on the fair home in distant England, thus bereaved in so short a time of a brother and a husband.

CHAPTER V.

SUMMER.

WITH that contentedness of disposition that is peculiarly developed in the Anglo-Saxon race, and characterises all mankind, no sooner had the 30,000 men, including natives and foreigners, concentrated in and around Kars, discontinued grumbling and complaining of the intense cold, than every voice was raised in unison to denounce the fearful heat, which of a sudden overwhelmed us. The months of July and August, in the table-lands of Armenia, are indeed trying, both to the constitution and the temper. In the morning one awakes with the sensation of leaving a hot vapour bath to enter a fiery furnace, and the heat continues to increase during the day until four or five in the afternoon, when at Kars a thunderstorm generally broke over the town and mountains to the rear, and slightly relieved the oppressive atmosphere. Scarcely a day set without witnessing a storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied often with hail. Every

living being, with the exception of the Arabian and Syrian bashi-bazooks—and the fleas, succumbed to the influence of the stifling heat. There were no tailors to relieve one of the heavy winter costume, which continued from necessity to be worn. On the same principle that hot tea is cooling, the Kurds covered their unwashed shoulders with additional heavy sheep-skins, which offered a most disagreeable appearance and odour in the sultry sun. The irregulars from the desert were delighted beyond measure at the warmth, and I could scarcely recognise in the smiling and noisy horsemen capering wildly about the plain on their magnificent little steeds, the shivering and melancholy looking figures of the winter months. The fleas, and I may add the flies, not to allude to other distinguished members of the insect tribe, displayed an activity as meritorious as it was unpleasant. The rooms, the tents, the open air, and I firmly believe the water even, teemed with myriads of these amiable creatures. At night it required a vast amount of physical and moral courage to lie down to rest; and for my own part, I looked upon that inevitable moment with indescribable horror. There were no artificial means at hand to fortify one's self against the terrible heat: no soda water, or pale ale, not to speak of iced wines or syrups, offered their refreshing charms to relieve the parched tongue. The water

even, that last resource of the thirsty campaigner, was not of a refreshing quality. We drank of the waters of the Kars-tschai, which were warm and nasty, and in which a careful analysis would, I believe, have detected an undue preponderance of the tadpole element. It is, however, ungrateful for me to speak ill of the little river, for it afforded a great fund of amusement, besides offering to all Kars the invaluable advantage of a daily bath.

The greater part of the army passed its existence in the Kars-tschai or upon its banks. The Turkish soldiers were now enabled to indulge in the habits of cleanliness dictated by their religion and natural to their tastes. For one or two miles along the river both banks were lined with bathers, who contrived to kill two birds with one stone, by alternately washing themselves and their clothes. The Turks, even in the water, preserved their natural decorum. I could not help picturing to my imagination the boisterous scenes of merriment, the ducking and diving that would have characterised the bathing proceedings of an equal number of European soldiers. In the waters of the Kars-tschai nothing of the kind was to be remarked, and if a jovial-minded Arab chanced to indulge in a splash to the discomfiture of his neighbours, his levity and misconduct were very properly admonished. The soldiers brought with them a species of home-manufactured soap, not

unlike petrified tallow, with which they mutually scrubbed each other's backs and heads ; and their ablutions finished, the men spread themselves on the green sward to dry. The few capitalists who could afford tobacco smoked their chibouques, whilst the prodigal many who had run through their pay, indulged in the poor man's consolation, and serenely slept through the mid-day hours. A few enterprising men gifted with undeniable mechanical genius constructed most extraordinary looking lines and hooks, with which, with a patience worthy of a better cause, they tempted the weak intellects of the small fish below. If, as was inevitable from the laws of chance, a prize was actually secured, the happy angler was instantaneously surrounded by an admiring coterie, to whom he narrated the extraordinary difficulties he had surmounted, and dilated on the incredible amount of skill and intelligence that is required in order to land a fish—just like our Izaak Waltons at home.

In the winter months, when the troops were suffering from famine and disease, and when the future appeared so gloomy and overcast, I recorded with a feeling of admiration the wonderful patience they exhibited. Now that they were comparatively well fed and happy, the same good behaviour was sustained. During my eight months experience with this army, I did not once observe a disturbance or a

quarrel; nor to my knowledge had any crime been committed in the camp. The men were good soldiers; they performed their duty with alacrity, were honourable and humane to each other, and devout in their religious ceremonies.

I have already had occasion to allude to a pontoon bridge which had been constructed at Kars, and also to two little flat-bottomed boats that were adapted to carry the anchors of the said bridge. A happy inspiration came over the imagination of Dr. Frazer, one hot afternoon as he was thinking of the cool, majestic lakes of his native Canada, (which he instantly communicated to me.) The following day accordingly we went in search of the bridge, which had disappeared from sight since the day, memorable to Kars, when a satisfactory trial of its strength had been made in the presence of the astonished townspeople. After some trouble we discovered the pontoon bridge, taken to pieces and packed away ready for transport. Along with it were the two wonderful boats. We obtained the loan of one of these, and had it launched triumphantly into the Kars-tschai. From this small craft we derived considerable amusement. For the first time in the memory of man were the waters of the river of Kars navigated; and with the inborn curiosity of the Anglo-Saxon race, our first inspiration was to make a voyage of discovery up the winding stream.

For several miles we passed through a double line of bathers, washers, smokers, and sleepers ; who, with the exception of the latter, greeted our appearance with solemn admiration. The banks of the river were covered with the most luxuriant grass, adorned with a thousand varieties of bright-coloured flowers ; and dotted here and there with tents, where the inhabitants of the town had retired to enjoy the sweet fresh air. Along the river, besides these marine residences, were little mud villages, that looked very unwholesome and uninviting in the rays of the fierce midday sun. Further from Kars, of which town we soon obtained a magnificent view, extended immense plains of beautiful long grass ; and here were quartered the cavalry of the Anatolian army. The horses were picquetted, and devoured the tempting herbage in the most methodical style ; a large circle around each animal was eaten completely bare ; and while testifying to the good appetites of the quadrupeds, offered a strange contrast to the rich expanse beyond the circle. Each horse, at the risk of breaking the leg by which he was attached, and of putting his neck out of joint, was striving to reach the tempting bait beyond. Twice a day the position of the horses was changed, and the amount of grass they consumed was incredible.

The navigation of the Kars-tschai presented

considerable difficulties; but as our clothes were beyond suffering injury from immersion, an occasional calamity in the shape of an upset was looked upon as rather an agreeable diversion. In some places the stream was strong and shallow, and at others extremely deep; sometimes we arrived at little falls, small Niagaras, and to be swept down these flowing declivities was a delightful excitement. How the little boat escaped destruction was remarkable: in fact had both skiffs, along with the pontoon bridge, been sunk or lost, no great harm would have arisen; for their services, in a military point of view, were never needed: probably had they been required, the bark in question would have gone to the bottom in our first trip. Returning to Kars was no easy task, for the boat had to be dragged along the grass on arriving at the foot of the said falls, and that on a hot summer's afternoon was not an agreeable occupation.

We thus contrived to pass whole days paddling along the Kars-tschai. When fatigued we reposed in the soft grass and went to sleep; then the great heat would demand a bathe, and selecting some choice spot, we enjoyed a refreshing swim. At some village we were sure to obtain bread, butter, eggs, yaourt, and similar homely fare, of which I never tired. Then we had again recourse to that favourite diversion of the East—sleep. The heat of the day

was now passing, and the pleasure of reclining on the grass, thinking of nothing, listening to the humming of insects or the distant neighing of the cavalry horses, was delightful. Perhaps, making a great intellectual exertion, we would converse, and wonder what was to be the fate of the army of Kars—if we should meet at Tiflis, or be soundly thrashed. The sun was now setting, and we must depart; for in Armenia twilight is unknown: the last rays of the sun are reflected, as it were, by a pale light of the crescent moon, and from day you stride into night. We returned into Kars as the last rays of the sun were setting behind the distant plain. The Turkish bands saluted the departure of the fiery orb with strains of wild, unintelligible music; the muezzin, from the heights of the minarets, called to the inhabitants of the town below to prostrate themselves to their Maker; and the noise and din of the camp speedily subsided into deep, unbroken silence.

No sooner had the chilly nights of the few weeks of spring passed away, than the Sais-bachis and grooms were thrown into an extreme state of excitement. The time had now arrived for the release of the horses from the dark and dirty stables of Kars, and each sais was desirous of procuring the most advantageous meadow for his master's stud. The animals were perfectly aware of the approaching

change of diet, and refused their chopped straw. On the first of a series of warm days, it was an amusing and pleasing sight to see the long strings of beautiful horses proceeding in various directions across the plain, prancing and neighing as if to testify their unbounded satisfaction at exchanging the close stables of Kars and the *régime* of chopped straw for the long luxurious grass and the mild healthy air of the plain. The sais were equally delighted at escaping from the vigilant eyes of their masters, and each one selected a spot as far as possible from the town. They contrived to assemble in little coteries of six or eight, and choosing some retired nook, they passed their days in delightful idleness, and at night either inflicted Arabian songs on one another, or clubbed together their money to enjoy the highly moral spectacle of dancing boys.

The grooms pitched their tents in the vicinity of the Kars-tschai, or some other little stream, and picquetted their horses in a large circle around them. The two front legs of the animal were manacled, and the right-hand one was attached by a rope to the ground: a position which materially interfered with the comfort of the horses, and lessened their enjoyment. They had the temptation of seeing each other constantly, and of neighing defiance at one another, but were denied the satisfaction of settling their

respective pretensions in a fair open fight. The ropes and pegs likewise interfered with the sleeping arrangements of the animals: it required a good deal of practice on the part of a horse to rise, after he had laid down to roll or to indulge in a pleasant slumber. For the first day or two, the horses revelled in the rich grass, of which they consumed immense quantities; after the novelty of their diet had worn off, they endeavoured to indulge in practical jokes upon each other, such as biting asunder the ropes that bound them and then trying to kick the life out of their unsuspecting neighbour's body. The exterior of the horses speedily underwent a marvellous change; their sleek coats and plump sides soon disappeared, and they presented the abject appearance peculiar to horses that have been long at grass. When the nights turned cool, and the grass was either dried by the sun or consumed, the saïs and their charges returned to the stables of the town. The horses had ridded themselves by their green régime of all the little ills to which horseflesh is liable, and soon fattened on the old diet of barley; it was long, however, before they could be brought to accept the chopped straw.

I detained one horse in the town for my daily exercise, and the others accompanied the stud of General Guyon to a beautiful little valley five miles from Kars. This was one of the most charming

spots in the neighbourhood, and was at a convenient distance from the camp. The *sais-bachi* and *sais* of the general had established a small encampment by the side of a little mountain stream, and had erected a handsome tent for the occupation of their master in his frequent visits. This valley was encircled by a series of high hills, and lay in the direction of Gumri; the road passed over, and beyond, the Karadagh, which was then bristling with redoubts, and, consequently, was not in a very secure position: a night gallop of the Cossacks would have enabled them to sweep off the whole stud and their attendants. In order to prevent any such disagreeable occurrence, a small detachment of cavalry occupied the valley, and patrolled to within sight of the enemy's videttes.

In this tranquil valley I passed some very pleasant hours. It was delightful to leave Kars, as the heat of the day declined, and to gallop madly over the wide expanse of verdure, inhaling the pure air of the mountains, and to exchange the fatiguing noise of the camp for the charms of this solitary spot. When arrived at the little encampment there was plenty of occupation and amusement. Each horse was inspected and fondled. Then there were little incidents that had occurred since my last visit, and which were considered by the grooms as matters of grave importance: for instance, Caplan had broken

loose and had attacked Dervish, or perhaps a horse of the general's had escaped from his bonds and dissipated the monotony of the night by engaging in a single combat with one of my animals. Then the satisfaction of the other horses at seeing their old stable companion arrive, on which I was mounted, was very pleasing to behold; as was also the utter indifference with which the latter accepted this welcome, and proceeded to make better use of his time by devouring enormous quantities of long grass. Then there was always some dispute with the grooms: my men, who had been placed under the surveillance of the *sais-bachi* of the general, had usually misbehaved themselves, and that important official submitted to me formal complaints on the subject; this resulted in his obtaining backshish, which I believe he shared with the assumed criminals. Some of the cavalry videttes had wonderful stories to narrate or anecdotes of what they had seen in their lonesome patrols. One had challenged a Cossack to swim across the Arpa-tschai and engage him in mortal combat, an invitation which the "Muscov Giaour" had wisely declined; another had dispersed a foraging party of the enemy after a ferocious struggle: everybody in fact had distinguished himself immensely, and one would have thought, from the fables which were circulated, that this quiet little valley

formed the centre of an arduous and sanguinary struggle.

Once or twice a week I sent Georgio in the morning from the town with provisions (I had been able to replenish my stores from Erzeroum), and the necessary culinary utensils. Later in the day, I accompanied General Guyon to the encampment, where we remained till night. To the General it was delightful to escape from the annoyances and petty vexations of the camp, and to while away his time in tranquil amusements. We had trials of speed between the members of his stud, who enjoyed the fun amazingly. The valley formed a splendid training or galloping ground. Before sunset we dined, and then reclining on the soft sward, we talked of Europe and the past; or speculated, as men will foolishly do, with a sanguine spirit on the future. At times Guyon would tell me stirring stories from the Hungarian war; of his marvellous escapes from death and capture, of the deeds performed by glorious old Bem, and of the gallant band of heroes who perished by the hands of the Austrian hangman. When night came, we started, against our will, and returned by the full light of the moon to the town. At parting, Guyon often observed with a sigh, "When shall we have another tranquil afternoon's enjoyment? To-morrow recommences the old history of intrigue and annoyance!" In fact the

position of the general had become most unenviable : Poles and Turks intrigued without intermission against him. By giving free vent to their ungenerous sentiments, they undermined Guyon's authority, alike with the troops and the authorities at Stamboul, and thereby prepared the catastrophe which ere long fell like a thunderbolt on the army of Anatolia.

The weather of the summer months, I have remarked, was often variable. Thus on the 8th of July the camp was visited by an awful hailstorm. The stones were of an unheard-of size, and hurled down many of the tents ; two horses were killed, and several others injured.

A few days previous to that event the army, which had continued to receive reinforcements, marched out into the plain and went through several brigade movements. The artillery displayed its usual excellence, and the infantry manœuvred with tolerable precision and rapidity ; of the cavalry we will not speak.

During the period that the cavalry were at grass, several cases of horse-stealing agitated the camp. One man, a Jew, was arrested en flagrant délit and conducted before the muchir, who ordered him to be bastinadoed at once, and in his presence. The culprit was seized by two sergeants, who dealt him five hundred blows on the back, whilst the muchir

calmly noted off the number on his amber string of beads. The cries of the man, the excitement of the executioners and the tranquil impassibility of the muchir formed one of those little dramas only to be witnessed in the East. Although the blows were delivered with the greatest vigour and good-will, the offender suffered no inward injury, and was able to creep off the ground; his progress being amiably facilitated by kicks from the feet of the assembled spectators.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FEAST OF BAIRAM.

GREAT were the rejoicings on the 2nd day of July over the length and breadth of the vast Ottoman empire. On the morning of that day terminated the ascetic fast of Ramazan, with its trying duties and physical obligations ; and then dawned the glorious festival of Bairam, when feastings and rejoicings rewarded the True Believers for the hardships of the past month.

The fast of Ramazan is of the most trying nature, and, notwithstanding the rigour of its obligations, is universally obeyed to the letter. From sunrise to sunset no refreshment may enter the mouth of the Mussulman ; the consolation of the pipe, and all physical enjoyment, is denied him : during the long days of the Ramazan, he is commanded to fast and pray. The army and navy are alone absolved from this trying ordeal ; but many of the private soldiers, and all the superior officers, declined to profit by their legalised exemption. Bairam is, on the

contrary, the signal for pleasure and enjoyment. Continual feasting and fêtes inaugurated the release from Ramazan, and during that festival each Musulman attempts to outvie his neighbour in hospitality and in magnificence.

Salvo after salvo of artillery inaugurated this festival at Kars, and on that day, in the many cities and villages of the empire, more gunpowder was consumed than would have sufficed for two campaigns. On Monday, the 3rd July, at daybreak, a great movement commenced in the camp. The whole army poured out of their tents, unarmed and in disorder. In the midst of the plain of Kars a high scaffolding had been erected, and around this were congregated the living sea of blue uniforms and red fezzes. The chief mufti ascended the scaffolding, and addressed to the troops a religious discourse. He concluded amidst a breathless silence, and, as he pronounced the "La illah al Allah!" the thirty thousand soldiers present fell on their knees, and repeated their belief. The scene was most impressive and touching, notwithstanding the paganism of the act; for each man honestly believed in the words he was pronouncing, and would have sealed his faith, if necessary, with his blood.

The morning was passed in visits; each pacha visited the muchir, and the latter returned the call in the course of the day: the whole camp was in

movement. The officers were clad in their best uniforms, which were adorned with epaulettes that are never worn by the Turks save on festive occasions ; the finest horses and richest saddle-cloths were produced on this day, and no one would have recognised, in its present brilliancy, the slovenly camp of the preceding day. The Miralais and Bimbashis followed the example of their superiors, and paid their respects to other colonels and majors. Everybody who was decorated, or had gained a medal, appeared with the same ; and the breasts of some of the higher pachas were covered with stars obtained by distinguished conduct in the back-stairs of the war-office at Stamboul. The muchir was magnificently dressed : his uniform was one mass of splendid gold embroidery and brilliants ; an agraffe of diamonds sparkled in his fez, and altogether he looked remarkably well. Some of the Europeans appeared in great style : Colonel Shwarzenberg wore the brilliant Hungarian hussar uniform, and created a sensation amongst the Turks. The day was passed in entertainments, and when evening came everybody was fatigued to death. The number of cups of coffee I had consumed and of pipes I had smoked during the day, was something remarkable ; and yet I had taken but a small part in the proceedings of the day. I had breakfasted with General Guyon, lunched with the Mustechar Pacha, then

visited the muchir and the pachas I knew, and wound up with calling on several Miralais and the chief mufti: who was a great man for that day only. Some of the pachas and miralais must have paid, at least, from fifty to eighty visits in the course of the day; it would, therefore, be an amusing employment for a statistical mind to calculate how many gallons of coffee and pounds of tobacco were consumed in the course of Bairam. The kaveh-gees and chiboukgees had a hard time of it; but, as a slight compensation, backshish was the order of the day.

At noon, intelligence was received from the outposts, announcing that the bashi-bazooks had inaugurated the feast of Bairam after their own unsophisticated fashion. They had fallen upon a regiment of Cossacks stationed along the Arpa-tschai, and, after a hand-to-hand fight, had succeeded in routing the Russians. The enemy lost above one hundred men in killed and wounded; the casualties of the bashi-bazooks were less numerous.

A few prisoners were taken by the Turkish irregulars, amongst whom was an officer of rank, who announced himself as the brother of an aide-de-camp of General Bebutoff.

Whilst the officers of the army of Kars were paying visits of congratulation, the soldiers relieved their feelings, benumbed by the weariness of Ramazan, in games on the green plain, and in

feasting. They had established swings, see-saws, and roundabouts on the plain, and gave themselves entirely up to fun and enjoyment.

The late skirmishes, in which the bashi-bazooks distinguished themselves by their unexpected intrepidity, had greatly raised the spirits of that irregular body. A few days after the successful attack on the Cossacks, a bashi-bazook had the audacity to creep to the enemy's camp and to detach a dromedary which was grazing within its precincts; with which he fled, unharmed by the general discharge of muskets that accompanied his retreat. This man was handsomely rewarded and lionised, and the dromedary was paraded through the camp as a trophy. The bashi-bazooks also brought in herds of cattle, the result of several razzias on the enemy's territory.

On the Danube, the irregulars were accused (I suppose with truth) of committing great ravages, and Omer Pacha had declined to accept their future services. It must have been the absence of an officer of capacity and energy at their head, that had led the bashi-bazooks to indulge in their natural taste for plunder and licentiousness, for at Kars, thanks to General Kmeti, they were not only well-behaved but also intrepid and useful. The latter officer, at the head of his irregulars, continued to display great activity, and he harassed the enemy by night and day. So prudent and vigilant, however,

were the Russians, that no serious operations could be directed against them by the irregulars alone. The enemy was concentrated in camp, with sentinels only one hundred and fifty yards in advance; no picquets were sent out that might have been captured by the bashi-bazooks, nor did the Cossacks even venture into the neighbouring villages, where our irregulars might have surprised and overcome them.

The position of the Russians was, however, such that, by a night march, the army of Kars could have cut them off from Gumri, and have forced them to accept battle under terrible odds. But then this army should have been commanded by a chief of experience, with unlimited powers, and not, as was the case, governed by a council of generals of dubious sagacity and animated with conflicting sentiments. A general of moderate talents is always preferable to a council of six generals of genius, and the odds are great that his measures will succeed, whilst jealousy and intrigue hamper and weaken the operations of the many-headed. Had General Guyon been placed at the head of this army, in an independent position, and supported by General Kmeti, I fearlessly assert that, within two months of the above period, Tiflis would have been captured and the Russian forces in Georgia cut to pieces, or driven beyond the Caspian. Nothing could

excuse the inactivity of the army of Anatolia at that moment, when the forces of the enemy were so vastly inferior in number. A period of two months witnessed the arrival of large reinforcements to the enemy, and that was the fatal moment selected by the muchir to commence his operations.

The army of Anatolia, with its wings at Ardahan and Bayazid, was composed of above 40,000 regulars, with a park of artillery of above 120 pieces, equipped and in perfect order. The troops were in good condition, and if well led on would have behaved manfully. Provisions were now in abundance; and the weather, dry yet not too warm, would have favoured an advance. Notwithstanding these palpable advantages, this army was doomed by the unfortunate circumstances I have named above, and by the want of energy in the Muchir Zarif Mustafa Pacha, to a fatal inaction. In numerical force the enemy was by far inferior to this army. The force of the Russians in Gumri and on the Turkish territory had been correctly ascertained, and was composed of the following troops: infantry, seventeen battalions from six to eight hundred strong, or about 12,000 men; cavalry,—one regiment of dragoons, and two of Cossacks, together some 3000 sabres. The artillery consisted of fifty field-pieces, superior to the Turkish in calibre; but the latter were worked with equal

vigour and skill. A battalion of sappers must be added to the above force. Thus the Russians could barely have mustered 20,000 men to arrest the progress of the Anatolian army, had its chiefs only been penetrated with a sense of duty.

In the medglis, or council, an advance into Georgia was certainly proposed; but, as usual, the opinions were so divided respecting the most favourable point of attack, that no decision was taken. The muchir appeared favourable to an attack on Gumri, and a more unhappy choice he could not have made. The fortress of Gumri is of vast strength, and would have demanded a regular siege. The Turkish army possessed no heavy guns, nor, in fact, any materials necessary for an enterprise of a similar nature. Harassed by continual sallies, and discouraged by the strength of the place and the formidable difficulties opposed to them, the troops would speedily have become demoralised and have been forced to retreat in disorder. The proposition of the muchir was, however, overruled. The real policy of the Turkish commander was, on the contrary, to avoid any contact with the guns of Gumri, and he should decidedly have turned that fortress. By leaving a division at Kars, or on the frontier, to watch the movements of the garrison of Gumri, this army might have advanced on Tiflis, either to the right or to the left of Gumri; whose

garrison would have been forced to retire, in order to cover the capital, and thus been compelled to give battle under unfavourable circumstances. During the Bairam several deserters passed over from the enemy's camp, and confirmed the weakness of the Russians.

The news of the alliance contracted between England, France, and Turkey, had oozed out in Georgia, notwithstanding the measures taken to prevent the circulation of news. General Read, the successor of Prince Woronzoff, had forbidden the formation of groups of more than two civilians or soldiers, and the greatest rigour was exercised against those who transgressed this arbitrary command. The news of the bombardment of Odessa was transformed by the Russians into a signal victory, and matters on the Danube were progressing most favourably, according to the same disinterested and veracious authorities.

On the third day of Bairam we had another grand field-day, when the army went through several complicated movements. It was to be regretted that the troops were not more frequently practised in great manœuvres, as they displayed much intelligence, though little experienced. The time they took in going through a slightly complicated movement was such, that to have departed on the battle-field from the most simple of manœuvres

would have been unadvisable and dangerous. On the Danube the Turks managed matters better than in Armenia; for, by constantly practising his troops, Omer Pacha had brought them to a high state of discipline.

The Russians had recently shifted the position of their advanced guard, which was again on the Turkish territory, this side of the Arpa-tschai. Their camp was protected by a fortified tête-du-pont, and a few improvised redoubts. The presence of the enemy on this side of the river was explained by the want of forage which he experienced on his own territory, and was of no military or tactical importance. Still, with the large force of cavalry at the disposition of the muchir, it was discreditable that the Russian avant-garde was not annoyed, if not seriously attacked.

The weekly arrival of reinforcements to the army of Kars had swollen, to a great extent, the proportions of the encampment before that town. The plain was now covered with rows of picturesque white and green tents, and smaller encampments had been formed on the road to Soobattan, then occupied by the avant-garde, and on the little mountain valleys in the neighbourhood. The Karadagh and the fortifications that covered Kars were supplied with permanent garrisons, and the hill-sides were dotted with green or white tents. In

their camp arrangements the Turks are unrivalled, and their tents, both in appearance and in comfort, far surpass those employed by the civilised West. The marquees, or double tents, of the superior officers, were magnificent. The tents of the Feriks, or generals of division, and also that occupied by the Muchir, were surmounted by a large gilt crescent and star. The favourite colour of the canvass was green, but from my camp experience, I consider white the most favourable hue. Each superior officer was provided with three or four tents for his chiboukgees, grooms, and orderlies: the subaltern officers even had their two tents; and the consequent difficulty in changing an encampment, or in marching, may be imagined, from the amount of transport cattle required to move the inconvenient mass of canvas. Many of the past disasters sustained by the Turks may be attributed to this mania for hampering the operations of their armies by the presence of so much unnecessary baggage. In the past campaign, at the battle of Soobattan, a considerable number of Turkish tents had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the Russian advanced guard were, at the time I am writing of, encamped under the favourite colour of the Prophet. The Turkish troops occupied large airy tents, which they had pitched with great ingenuity; and ten men with a

corporal were told off to each one: it may be calculated that three men from each tent were either absent on duty, or in the hospital, so that ample accommodation existed for the remaining eight. The sides of the tents were carefully banked up, and thus drains were formed which carried off the rain and damp. The ground in the interior of the tents was dug into the shape of divans, and every precaution conducive to comfort was adopted. Some of the officers had furnished their tents with great luxury:—Persian carpets covered the earth, and leopard-skins formed a species of tapestry along the canvass walls, on which hung trophies of arms and valuable pipes.

In advance of the tents were the regimental kitchens and ovens, constructed with great ingenuity in the earth. Each tent had its cook, who prepared the daily soup and pillau. The soldiers were rarely exercised, with the exception of the artillery and chasseurs. The only active men in the army were the regimental bands, who were never silent. During the day these unfortunate musicians persevered in torturing harmony; and at sunset, their combined strains honoured the departing luminary with a horrible *katzen-musik*, as our German cousins figuratively term such unholy sounds. Every day, as the sun set behind the distant hills, the regiments gave three vivas in

honour of the sultan, after which the bands struck up the "Sultan's March,"—a piece composed by the brother of the famous Donizetti, who was, for a time, band-master to his sublime highness.

CHAPTER VII.

DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNERS.

THE camp before Kars was greatly enlivened in the months of June and July, by the arrival of several strangers, of more or less distinguished social position, who relieved the European portion of the army from the fearful monotony that characterised its daily existence. The first arrival was from Tiflis, and consisted of Monsieur Steir, the French *gerant-consulaire* in Georgia, accompanied by a little pastry-cook of the same nation, and a dragoman attached to the Consul. Monsieur Steir had received his passports, and had been directed by General Read, the Russian governor of the Trans-Caucasian provinces, and successor to Prince Woronzoff, to proceed to the nearest frontier ; notwithstanding his desire had been to return to France by way of St. Petersburg. The pastry-cook had likewise considered it more prudent to leave the Russian territory ; whilst the dragoman, it was subsequently ascertained, was no better than he looked : being in fact a Russian spy.

Monsieur Steir had been conducted under escort to the Turkish frontier, along mountain paths, so as to prevent him from deriving any useful information of the Russian positions in Georgia, which he might have communicated to the Turkish commanders. This precautionary measure of General Read was, I am convinced, totally unnecessary ; for had Monsieur Steir walked through the whole Russian camp, I doubt if he would have considered it worth his trouble to recollect any of its details. This gentleman was a type of a certain delightful class of his countrymen : he was amiable, very polite and agreeable, and moreover possessed a lively wit and great conversational powers ; but then he was indolent beyond all conception. At the time of his arrival at Kars, the project of invading Georgia (a plan that was slightly modified in consequence of the Georgians invading Turkey), occupied the attention of the Muchir and the medglis. Monsieur Steir's presence was therefore hailed with pleasure by these authorities, who expected to derive most valuable information from the official experience of that gentleman. The consul-gerant, however, knew nothing, absolutely nothing, of what was going on in Georgia ; he was even ignorant of the state of the bridges and roads he had passed on his way to the frontier. He had ridden peaceably on, sleeping all day and travelling at night, consequently he had

not found many opportunities for studying the forte or the foibles of the enemy. The little pastry-cook affirmed that in Tiflis, Monsieur Steir was equally inclined to somnolency; but then the evidence of that vendor of sweets must be accepted with caution.

If the presence of Monsieur Steir was most welcome to the camp, who appreciated his droll conversation and amiable manners, that of the little pastry-cook was equally esteemed; though for far different and less flattering reasons. The bad instincts of the Europeans had been bottled up now for a long time, and they burst with concentrated vigour over the unfortunate confectioner; all the wit and fun of the camp were let loose upon him, and everything said or done to render his existence miserable. This individual was also a type of a certain disagreeable class of French society. He was very short and ugly, and given to much gesticulation; his manners were rude, and his conversation was egotistical and insupportable. He was moreover very warlike, and offered with 10,000 men to clear Georgia of the Russians in a month: a proposition I am surprised the Muchir did not accept. But it was the air of self-importance, assumed by the confectioner, that was delicious, and which was naturally encouraged by all the evil disposed individuals in the camp. A mortal feud raged between

the little pastry-cook and Monsieur Steir, his diplomatic representative ; and it would appear that the latter, in order to subdue the tedium of the journey, had amused himself at the expense of the other ; for no sooner did the pastry-cook catch sight of his consul promenading in the camp, than ferocious frowns contracted his features and rendered him intensely interesting. Monsieur Steir, on his part, never cast eye on his countryman without indulging in incontrollable laughter.

The pastry-cook was vehement in denouncing his superior, and threatened to communicate with the *Ministr-r-r-re des Affaires Etr-r-r-r-r-angères* ; whereupon he was menaced by Monsieur Steir with all his consular wrath. It became known in the course of time that the confectioner had for a wife a pretty French woman who had remained at Tiflis, and the most indiscreet questions were addressed to him on that delicate subject, which offered a fair mark to his tormentors : some remonstrated with him, others condoled with his fate, until the little pastry-cook nearly went out of his mind and at last hastily quitted the camp for Erzeroum.

Monsieur Steir stated that in Russia the war was very unpopular, especially with the nobility and trading classes. The operations of the latter were restricted, whilst the nobles suffered not only pecuniary loss by the war, but were prevented thereby from enjoying

the luxuries and pleasures of Western Europe. At the period that this gentleman arrived in the camp, the intrigues against General Guyon had already commenced ; and as he openly espoused the cause of the general in preference to that of the Poles, he was subjected to considerable annoyance from that party, and from the Muchir. The Turkish commander at first refused to grant the consul a tent, and appeared even disposed to prevent him establishing himself at Kars. Monsieur Steir very properly resented this uncourteous treatment, and in severe language he rebuked the Muchir for thus displaying an unwarranted hostility ; which would have been blameable in any case, but was doubly so when aimed at a French official. This conversation and a slight allusion to the Emperor Napoleon, speedily operated a wonderful change in the conduct of the Muchir, who proffered his excuses, and furnished Monsieur Steir with a handsome tent and every accommodation.

A week after the arrival of the consul-gerant of Tiflis, another French consul-gerant in the person of Monsieur Castagne, of Erzeroum, made his appearance in the camp. He had travelled from Erzeroum with a view of seeing how matters were progressing in the Anatolian army. This gentleman advocated the views of the Poles, and opposed General Guyon. Unfortunately, he had either been ill-informed before his departure from Erzeroum, or had given vent to exaggeration ; but

most certainly he created intense excitement in the camp by positively announcing that a French corps 30,000 strong, composed of Zouaves, Turcos, Spahis, and other Algerine troops, was destined for Asia, and that officers had surveyed the roads between Trebizond and Erzeroum and made preparations for their arrival. I will not attempt to describe the sensation caused by this news, proceeding as it did from an official source. Having ventured to doubt the correctness of this statement, being tolerably well informed of the proceedings at Constantinople and Gallipoli, I thereby incurred a great deal of wrath; which however did not deeply afflict me. I was accused of being unreasonable, in not accepting official information as certain truth, and was proposed all sorts of wagers, the proceeds of which I subsequently had the felicity of encashing. One circumstance alone tended to confirm the statement of Monsieur Castagne, and that was, the fact of a French officer being bound for Kars (so said the consul) who was provided with sealed instructions which he was only to open when arrived at his destination.

The arrival of this officer was impatiently awaited, and the most wonderful guesses were made with respect to the contents of the sealed despatches. Some affirmed it was an order to advance into Georgia; others that it was a command to retreat on

Erzeroum, and to avoid giving or accepting battle. Some, on whom the most serious considerations or events had not the slightest influence, turned the sealed despatches to a reprehensible account, and to the detriment of the little pastrycook : this individual was gravely informed that the despatch contained nothing less than an order to have him hanged on suspicion of being a spy ; and a hundred ideas, one more absurd than the other, were worked out of the sealed papers, all to the annoyance of the disagreeable confectioner. The Muchir was in a fever of expectation, as were all the Turkish officials, and also the European generals. One incredulous gentleman, however, advanced his firm opinion, that the sealed despatches would prove to contain nothing but—*la blague*. The arrival of the officer at Erzeroum was announced in good time, and likewise his departure for Kars : I began to tremble for my bets, and tried in vain to hedge. “Many thanks !” all replied, “it will be a good lesson for you : before a month’s time we shall have 30,000 French here, and in another fortnight we shall see the little pastrycook’s wife in Tiflis.” This confidence was not at all reassuring. When the day arrived for the appearance of the French officer and his marvellous despatches, it was proposed to send out an escort of cavalry to accompany him into the town with due honour ; Guyon would not hear of this, and

refused to commit himself. At noon, however, the officer arrived, and proceeded, escorted by the French consul at Erzeroum, to the tent of the Muchir. He was an unsoldierly-looking individual and rather lame. The warmest reception awaited the officer ; until at length it oozed out that he had no despatches, sealed or open, and that in fact he was nothing but a talemgi, or instructor, despatched from Constantinople to instruct the newly created battalions formed on the model of the Chasseurs de Vincennes. The disappointment was immense, as may be imagined, for everybody had counted on the assistance of this French force of spahis and zouaves. The Turkish pachas had been particularly delighted at the prospect of escaping the chief part of the fighting ; which would naturally have devolved on the gallant African troops. Everybody was disgusted and annoyed at the ridiculous termination of so many brilliant hopes ; with the exception of the ill-conditioned band whom I have properly admonished above, and these considered the whole affair as splendid fun.

The officer who *did not* bring the sealed despatches, was only half a Frenchman, for I believe his mother was a Pole ; his stay with the army of Kars was not long, and he was soon recalled to Constantinople. It was subsequently discovered that the antecedents of this individual were far

from enviable, whilst his conduct in Asia was also open to reproach.

The next arrivals at Kars were less distinguished, and consisted of half-a-dozen deserters, who were the most rascally-looking fellows one could imagine. They must have deserted in order to escape some severe punishment, for their depraved and forbidding countenances betrayed their moral obliquity; and their behaviour in camp was very bad. They were employed as grooms by some of the Europeans, and were the source of much annoyance; for whilst engaged in drunken brawls, these rascals neglected their horses, and the consequence was, that in the night time some of the animals picquetted in the camp, entrusted to their care, continually broke loose and created great disturbance. Nothing can be more unpleasant than to be awakened by the neighing and fighting of horses; and at that nightly occurrence the whole staff rushed out of their tents, persuaded that their steeds had broken loose, or were being attacked. The misconduct of these deserters at length rose to such a pitch, that they were menaced with corporal punishment; which, however, considering their antecedents and the military service they had quitted, would have possessed no especial novelty for them.

One day a Russian officer deserted and arrived in safety at head quarters. He was a fine soldierly

looking man, and was decorated with three or four medals. He was a Mussulman, and represented that hundreds of his comrades were prepared to follow his example, in the event of the Turkish army advancing to the frontiers. This officer was a most intelligent man, and conversed with much facility and sense. He had brought with him a tame hawk provided with cap and bells, which he presented to General Guyon. This bird was subsequently attached outside the general's tent, where his proceedings offered much edification to the sentries. If by chance the hawk perceived a bird flying in the air, he became greatly excited, and was with difficulty restrained from soaring away, perch and all. I could not account for a deserter finding an opportunity of conveying away a bird of this nature, and harboured a doubt of the man's sincerity; this was confirmed when, after a week's residence in the camp, where I met him daily, the officer suddenly disappeared, and we never saw him afterwards. It was said that he had been sent to the outposts; but this was pronounced in such a tone, that I could not do otherwise than suspect him of having returned to his old friends the Russians, after having seen everything worth examining in the Turkish camp. If such was really the case, the man was entitled to some credit for his courage and ingenuity.

After a short residence in the camp, both Messieurs Steir and Castagne returned to Erzeroum. Monsieur Steir was shortly after appointed consul for France at Batoum, and Monsieur Castagne took his departure for Constantinople. The latter gentleman was replaced at Erzeroum by Monsieur de Challet, who subsequently paid the army of Kars likewise a visit.

A French officer, the Comte de Maffrei, arrived in the camp at the end of July. This officer had been appointed aide-de-camp to the Muchir, and was a very welcome addition to the European society of Kars. He was a distinguished-looking soldier, and presented a wonderful contrast to the French officer who did *not* convey the sealed dispatches.

Another arrival worthy of mention, was that of Baron Wezler, or rather Ahmet Sahabit Bey, who accompanied his regiment from Aleppo. This officer was by birth a German, and of a highly-connected Viennese family; in his youth he had served in a crack Austrian regiment, and had shone brilliantly for a time in the first circles of Vienna. He was now a more complete Turk than any Mussulman in the army: for years he had lived with the true believers, had embraced their religion, and had married into a high Turkish family. He was the most bigoted and stationary Turk in the camp; but withal of a very good-natured and obliging dispo-

sition. He had been quartered for the last twenty years in Syria, and had almost forgotten his native language. Of railways, telegraphs, and similar modern discoveries, he was equally ignorant and incredulous.

An Italian nobleman visited Kars on his way from Bagdad to Stamboul; but, as he only remained a couple of days in the camp, his arrival is entitled to no special mention. This gentleman was attended, however, by an old Tyrolese man-servant, who remained at Kars and proved to be an excellent cook; for, when the army advanced to the frontier, Iskender Bey, whose tent I shared, engaged him for our joint account in that capacity. After our terrible defeat, Antonio—this was the name of the worthy old man—quitted our service, and entered that of his Imperial Highness Abdul Medjid, in the capacity of regimental surgeon. I need hardly remark that the whole of Antonio's scientific attainments consisted in turning out a first-rate ragout or an omelette; for of medicine or surgery he was totally innocent.

The last distinguished arrival was that of a German tailor, who had the enterprise to push his fortunes in these distant regions. The appearance of this individual was hailed with rejoicing by all those whose wardrobe, similar to my own, was in a tattered condition. I believe this tailor

succeeded in amassing a pretty little sum of piastres during his short stay with the army; but, if my memory does not betray me, he was stopped on the road to Erzeroum on his return, by a band of vagabond Kurds, who despoiled him of his well-earned gains.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADVANCE OF THE ARMY TO THE FRONTIERS OF GEORGIA.

ON the 1st of July the Russian garrison of Gumri, 15,000 strong, commanded by General Prince Bebutoff, marched from that fortress, and having crossed the Arpa-tschai, took up a position on the Turkish territory, at one hour's march from the Ottoman advanced guard posted in Soobattan and Hadgi-Velikoi. These are two small villages not marked on the ordinary maps, and separated about four hours' march from Kars.

The Russian centre inclined on the villages of Ingedere and Kurekdere, and was partially screened by a solitary mountain that rose in the plain in advance of the villages in question. The Turkish outposts, and the bashi-bazouks that were scattered over the frontier, fell back on the advanced guard; which prepared to retire on Kars, in the event of being attacked in superior force. General Guyon with the staff, at once proceeded to Soobattan and

reconnoitred the position taken up by the enemy. The Russians had now established a regular camp, and were fortifying the mountain which screened their position. A council of war was then held at Kars, when it was proposed to recall the advanced guard and concentrate the whole army of Anatoly around that town. This proposal was negatived. Another plan was advocated, to the effect of marching on Perghet, and establishing an encampment at that spot. This proposition, which was the most reasonable one presented, shared the fate of its predecessor. It was then determined to advance with the whole army to the frontier, and act according to circumstances. Orders were, therefore, issued for the troops to hold themselves prepared to break up their encampment at Kars and to march.

This intelligence created great satisfaction in the army; for the troops were heartily sick of the monotonous existence of Kars, and panted for active employment. To the Europeans the prospect of an exciting struggle was doubly welcome: they one and all felt deeply the humiliating inaction to which they had been condemned by the commanding pachas, and deplored the many excellent opportunities that had been neglected by the Muchir to strike a deadly blow at the enemy. The Russians had now received reinforcements, and were flushed with the easy victory they had obtained over Selim

Pacha at Urzughetti. The Turkish prospects were less bright than might have been desired, yet the best spirits animated the whole army, and the command to advance was awaited with impatience.

On Monday the 3rd of July the Turkish army at Kars, commanded by the Muchir, advanced in columns in the direction of the enemy. The tents and baggage were left behind, with instructions to follow on the morrow. Arrived at Hadgi-Velikoi, the troops took up a favourable position, and an encampment was immediately traced out.

So defective, however, were the commissariat arrangements, that regular supplies had not followed the army, and the men were half famished: for several day the troops were without tents, and without wood to form bivouac fires. In the course of the week the Turkish left wing stationed at Ardahan arrived. This fresh corps d'armée, under the Reis Kerim Pacha, increased the strength of the Turkish force to nearly 40,000 men. At the same time, reinforcements daily reached the Russian camp; which now contained above 28,000 men in infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

The whole of the army of Anatolia was thus concentrated at a distance of four English miles from the Russian encampment. The patrols touched one another, and an immediate engagement appeared inevitable. The Turkish army was divided into two

camps, both of which were concealed from the view of the enemy by a small mountain that rose on this side of the plain, similar to the one that screened the positions of the Russians. The rear of the Turkish position was protected by a ravine, which rendered any sudden surprise in that direction impossible. The tents were erected on rising ground most favourable for defensive operations.

The bashi-bazooks were posted in front of the army, and also towards the two flanks of the enemy. One of the Turkish encampments was established in the ruins of Hadgi-Velikoi; the houses of which village had been destroyed for the sake of the wood they had contained. The artillery and cavalry intersected this camp from the second, which was established more towards Kars. The command of the advanced division was entrusted to Kerim Pacha, whilst the Muchir himself directed the operations of the second. The two mountains in advance of the hostile armies were occupied by the staffs of both forces as observatories, from whence each movement could be detected.

At Kars there had been left a reserve of five battalions (about 4,000 men) of the Anatolian redifs. In my opinion the number was too limited, and at least 8,000 men should have been left to defend the place; which the enemy might have menaced by a forced march through Perghet. The

garrison consisted, moreover, of the worst troops of the army.

It had been decided by the Muchir that on the arrival of the division under Kerim Pacha from Ardahan, an attack should at once be directed on the Russian encampment, and battle offered to the enemy. Several days were, however, permitted to elapse after the junction of this corps; and thus the opportunity of attacking the enemy whilst under the influence of this accession of strength to the Turks, was permitted to escape.

On the 12th of July it was at length decided in the Turkish camp to give battle; and at half-past one in the afternoon, the army left its position, and advanced to within a distance of two miles from the Russian encampment.

The Russians at once quitted their position, and likewise advanced a short distance, when they halted and formed in line of battle.

The Turkish bashi-bazooks under General Kmeti (Ismael Pacha) advanced and opened a desultory fire, whilst the Russians sent out their skirmishers. The artillery of both armies proceeded to the front. The cavalry manœuvred to the flanks, and a furious contest was on the point of commencing. At this moment a terrific storm broke over the heads of the two armies. Never had such a storm been witnessed in these regions within the memory of

man. The ground was transformed in a few minutes into a deep morass. The Russian army at once returned to their former position, whilst the Turks remained three hours on the ground during the entire storm, and then slowly retired to their encampment.

The disappointment created in the army at this unfortunate occurrence was great. The Turkish troops were animated with the noblest spirit, and bitterly regretted the opportunity for engaging that had thus unexpectedly escaped them. Since that day the army was daily alarmed by the Russians, who advanced in serried columns, but on seeing the Turks drawn up in battle invariably retreated. The object of the enemy, it was presumed at the time, was to fatigue the Turkish troops and then to direct a night attack on the Ottoman position.

The Turks preserved their excellent spirits; and the discipline and order with which on similar occasions they broke up their tents and sent their baggage to the rear, were remarkable; the constant alarms had not rendered them impatient. The Turkish generals had decided on attacking the enemy, and every day an action was imminent; but by a strange fatality, every afternoon witnessed a deluge of rain or hail, which rendered the ground impracticable for cavalry or artillery manœuvres.

The ardour of the Muchir to engage with the enemy gradually subsided, and at length his intention of attacking the Russians was abandoned. Circumstances, however, subsequently enforced on the Muchir a change of tactics. The greatest hesitation now developed itself in the councils of the Turkish commanders; everything that could tend to hasten an action was abandoned. The whole of the surrounding country was overrun by the Russians with impunity; their light troops destroyed villages for the sake of the wood, without encountering opposition from the Ottoman generals. The crops which grew in the corn-fields that separated the two armies, were actually carried away by the enemy almost under the guns of the Turks, and no measures were adopted by the Muchir to check this audacity. The morale of the Turkish troops naturally suffered by this dastardly policy. The men argued after their own honest fashion, and said to one another: "If the Muscov giaours were not stronger than us we should be sent to beat them." This sentiment of depression increased amongst the troops, and to its influence I attribute the subsequent defeat of the Anatolian army.

In the meanwhile, small reinforcements continued to pour into the Turkish camp; but unfortunately these chiefly consisted in irregulars. Had but 5000 British or French troops joined the Ottoman army,

how different would have been the result of the campaign ! A few of the regiments that were condemned to a distasteful idleness in Scutari or Varna, or that were melting away ingloriously in the pestilential marshes of the Dobrudscha, would have decided, by their presence with the army of Anatolia, the fate of Russian power in Georgia and in the Trans-Caucasian provinces. It is, however, now too late to repine, and we can only regret the wilful blindness of the Allied governments, and recognise the profound wisdom of the Chancellor Oxenstiern's famous axiom.*

Two thousand bashi-bazooks arrived from Bagdad and Mosul on the 1st of July, under the command of Ressoul Pacha, an ignorant and cowardly officer, and were sent at once to the front. These irregulars were of a very different stamp to those that were placed under the directions of General Kmeti, and they displayed a wholesome aversion to stand fire, or even to engage with the harmless Cossacks. This misconduct must chiefly be attributed to the incapacity of their leader : indeed to the cowardice of Ressoul Pacha, and of his numerically formidable band of followers, was the army in a great measure indebted for the subsequent disaster of Kurekdere.

Thirty pieces of cannon were reported as being on

* "Go," said the Swedish statesman to his son, "and see by what dunces the world is governed."

their way to Kars, but they arrived too late to be of any use in the subsequent operations. The Turkish artillery was, however, in fine condition, and strong enough for immediate necessity.

The health of the Turkish army improved in a remarkable manner after the change of encampment; the position of Hadgi-Velikoi being excellent, both in a sanitary and a strategic point of view. The Russian troops on the contrary were reported to be suffering from typhus, and from affections of the chest.

The departure of the Ottoman army from Kars had produced a dangerous effect on the unruly population of Kurdistan. The petty Kurdish chieftains took up a threatening attitude, and a rebellion appeared imminent, which would have complicated affairs in Armenia. These chieftains demanded the release of one of their principal leaders, who was supposed to be under arrest in Constantinople for the part he had taken in the late rebellion; but whose body I believe had long since rotted in the depths of the Bosphorus. The European Consuls at Erzeroum interfered, and promised to represent to the Turkish government the claims of the Kurdish population. This policy for the moment arrested the progress of the insurrection; which, however, burst out with renewed fierceness after the subsequent defeat of the Turkish army. For a moment Erzeroum

was threatened, and the whole of Kurdistan was in rebellion. The firmness and conciliatory attitude of General Williams, British commissioner to the Anatolian army, succeeded later in quelling the insurrection before it had attained its full intensity.

The roads between Trebizond, Erzeroum and Kars, became unsafe immediately after the advance of the Ottoman army from Kars, and cases of assassination and robbery were unhappily of frequent occurrence.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CALM PRECEDING THE STORM.

NOTWITHSTANDING that a distance of five miles alone separated the two hostile encampments, weeks passed by without witnessing the decisive engagement which at first appeared inevitable. The Russians were awaiting further reinforcements, and were maturing a plan of attack on Bayazid; while the hesitation and spiritless conduct of the Ottoman commanders daily diminished the chances of ultimate success possessed by the army of Anatoly. Rarely in the annals of war have two hostile armies encamped within so short a distance of each other without at once offering or accepting battle; yet a period of thirty-five days elapsed before the Muchir or General Prince Bebutoff ventured on a general engagement.

The army had quitted Kars on the 3rd of July, and beyond the manœuvres which I have described in the previous chapter, no operations of great

importance took place during the remainder of that month.

Except a few skirmishes between the Turkish irregulars and the enemy's dragoons and Cossacks, nothing of any military interest disturbed the peaceful tranquillity of the two camps. The Russians occupied their leisure hours in entrenching their encampment, and in throwing up breastworks on the mountain which fronted the Turkish position and concealed their encampment. The Turks employed their time less profitably, and continued to dissipate the advantage of numerical superiority they possessed by inaction.

A rumour was circulated in the camp, to the effect that the Muchir had received positive instructions from the Seraskier at Constantinople to remain on the defensive for the present; and it was believed with confidence that the substitution of Zarif Mustafa Pacha by a more energetic commander was not far distant, and that until that period the army of Anatolia was to forbear commencing active operations. It is certain that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe recommended the British consul at Erzeroum to advise the Muchir to abstain from a general engagement. As Lord de Redcliffe was perfectly acquainted with the strength of the Ottoman force and the comparative weakness of the enemy, he must have divined that, through the incapacity of

the Turkish officers, any operations could but result in a disaster.

Whilst the army was uncertain as to its future movements, and was losing daily the excellent spirits which had animated it on quitting the encampment of Kars, a circumstance occurred which, for a moment, created considerable excitement.

General Guyon and General Brainski on the 25th of July narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Cossacks, and only avoided the calamity through the superior speed of their Arab horses. These officers incurred a far greater risk than even that encountered by Sir George Brown, who, on the landing of the Crimean expedition, narrowly escaped falling a prey to the vigilant and active Cossacks. Had fortune favoured the Russians on this occasion, the capture of these two generals would have been almost equivalent to a victory. The generals, with their aides-de-camp, escorted by a squadron of cavalry, had proceeded on a reconnaissance towards the village of Perghet, where, for a short time, it was projected to remove the encampment of Hadgi-Velikoi. The Muchir had previously given them to understand that the village was occupied by the irregulars under Hassan Yassemi, and therefore, anticipating no danger and wishing to avoid recognition, the generals left their escort behind them, and proceeded to the right of

Perghet, in the direction of the Russian camp. Later it was ascertained that the Muchir's order had not been at once obeyed by the commander of the bashi-bazooks, and that the village was in possession of the Cossacks.

The generals had not proceeded far, when on descending a slight hill, they found themselves in the midst of a party of Cossacks who had been lying in wait for them. Captain de Cellis, my tall friend the dragoon, was riding leisurely in advance when he found himself in a nest of these dismounted irregulars; he immediately wheeled round and gave timely warning to the two generals. To turn their horses and gallop towards the escort was the work of an instant. On approaching the village, another body of Cossacks cut off their road and gave hot pursuit; and at this moment, the lances of the Cossacks were but a few yards distant from the unlucky generals. The latter then turned their horses in the direction of the mountain which screened the Ottoman camp, and on which a military post was stationed. The Cossacks had been reinforced, and divining their intentions, likewise intercepted this road of retreat. In the meantime, two squadrons of Cossacks appeared at a distance, and the Turkish escort, which the generals had left behind them, at this vision turned and fled, the officers setting the example.

No hope but in the speed of their horses now

remained to the generals, and putting these to their utmost mettle, they dashed on over ravines and hills, closely followed by the stubborn Cossacks. The latter accompanied the chase with their customary cry of "Nie nydiosy" (thou shalt not escape); which, under the circumstances, was scarcely a consolatory piece of intelligence. The Cossacks were, however, doomed in this instance to disappointment; for after a pursuit of eight hours, the two generals came upon a strong party of Turkish irregulars, who were only then on their way to occupy Perghet, and on their appearance the disappointed Cossacks halted and finally disappeared. The generals and their unfortunate aides-de-camp arrived in the camp, where their absence had created the greatest alarm, totally exhausted.

During the long pursuit, General Guyon had often lost patience, and was with difficulty restrained from attempting to drive back the foe at the point of the sabre; but the cooler head of General Brainski pointed out the hopeless nature of that measure, which would inevitably have failed against the numerical superiority of the enemy. It is scarcely necessary to mention that in any European service, the commanding officers of the escorting squadron which so basely deserted its charge would have been shot or degraded; but in this instance nothing of the kind was done. It was proposed by the

Muchir to have the officers flogged—the customary Turkish punishment for all offences ; but the generals very properly declined to countenance that act.

That same evening it was discovered that secret communications had for some time past been carried on between a Greek surgeon of the name of Giovanni and the enemy. It was hoped that the former would have been arrested, but unfortunately he contrived to escape and found his way into the enemy's camp. It was evident that some of the high officials of the army were compromised in this discreditable affair, otherwise the traitor could not thus easily have escaped capture: several of his supposed confederates were under guard, but no certain proof of guilt could be brought against them. The mission of this Giovanni was to gain confederates, and to spike the Turkish artillery: instruments for that purpose, and a considerable quantity of Russian five rouble gold pieces, were found amongst his baggage, but the traitor himself had fled. I believe that one cannon was actually disabled before the discovery of this plot.

The inaction of the Turks inspired the enemy with greater confidence, and in time the Russian regulars and irregulars spread themselves over the whole country ; where they collected the unripe crops, and destroyed Turkish villages for the sake of the wood. The impunity with which these enterprises

were conducted, naturally rendered the enemy daily more audacious. At times, small detached Russian corps advanced far from their encampment, and offered an easy prey to the Turks, had a spirit of enterprise guided the councils of the Muchir and the native Pachas. Several splendid opportunities were neglected by the Turkish commanders, that were recklessly offered by the enemy ; who, in his contempt for the tactics of the Turks, was often guilty of great imprudence.

On the 27th of July, two days after the narrow escape of General Guyon, a column, composed of six battalions of infantry, two dragoon regiments, and twelve cannon, issued from the enemy's camp and marched in the direction of Perghet. The indiscretion committed by the Russians in dividing their force, can only be explained by their knowledge of the generals with whom they had to deal. The Russian column passed Perghet, which had been already destroyed by the enemy on a previous occasion, and advanced to the left flank of the Turkish camp on another village. The cavalry and artillery halted, whilst the infantry entered the place ; which they destroyed for the sake of the wood employed in the construction of the houses. This wood was carried off on carts brought by the Russians for that purpose ; and the column having effected its object, retired towards its encampment.

Will it be believed that no opposition was offered to this expedition, and that this favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy's camp, weakened by the absence of the above division, or of cutting off and annihilating the latter, was completely neglected? The Russians had ventured to a distance of three leagues from their camp, and had an overpowering force been sent against them, their fate would have been sealed. General Guyon was at the moment on a reconnoissance, and observing the enemy's movements, he collected two regiments of cavalry, which he encountered foraging, and followed in the enemy's wake. This force was perfectly incapable of opposing alone the Russian column, and General Guyon therefore despatched at once to the Muchir, praying for a reinforcement of infantry and artillery. Before, however, the Muchir had made up his mind, and the infantry and cannon had left the camp, the Russians had accomplished their object and were in full retreat home. The movements of the enemy had been watched with indignation by the Turkish soldiers, who, in the absence of spirit in their superiors, had at one moment been on the point of seizing their arms and attacking the Russians without orders.

The enemy was forced perhaps to undertake these dangerous expeditions, and to incur the risk of being attacked by an overwhelming strength, in

consequence of the total absence of wood in the Russian territory, and in the neighbourhood of the Arpa-tschai. For miles around not a single tree was to be found, and even the wood consumed in the Turkish camp had to be brought from a considerable distance.

Two days after the above event, General Guyon directed a reconnoissance on the enemy's position, attended by two squadrons of cavalry and 1,000 bashi-bazooks. Having approached the right flank of the Russian encampment, the enemy advanced from his tents and stood out in order of battle at a distance of two miles from the camp. On the movements of the Russians being first perceived, the entire Turkish cavalry and a division of infantry, with twelve cannon, were despatched by the Muchir, under the command of Kerim Pacha, to protect the retreat of General Guyon. This force being too weak to attack the entire Russian army, took up a strong position on an eminence commanding the surrounding country, and awaited the attack of the enemy. In the meanwhile the Ottoman army, having left behind it a force sufficient to protect the encampment from a sudden surprise, marched out in order of battle against the enemy's lines. The Muchir was thus drawn unwillingly into risking an engagement.

The Russians, on perceiving the advance of the

Turkish battalions, and comprehending that something more than a mere demonstration was intended, hesitated, and finally retreated. The enemy's advance had been marked by confusion and disorder; his retreat, on the contrary, was perfect. Probably the disorder was only affected, in order to entice the Turkish advanced guard under Kerim Pasha to an attack: the ruse, however, failed. The Turkish irregulars had a slight engagement with the Cossacks, whom they dispersed. The Ottoman army halted on the ground until the enemy had completely retired, and then withdrew to its encampment. As the Turkish soldiers were convinced that an action was imminent, I had an opportunity of ascertaining the real spirit which animated them. In all ranks the greatest satisfaction was expressed, and the men marched on in good temper and confidence. The artillery deserved especial commendation for its activity. Although the Turkish army had undergone the fatigue of this march without result, still it had a good effect on the minds of the soldiers. They had seen the Russians decline battle, and that was almost tantamount to a victory. The road of march lay along a magnificent pasturage ground. The cavalry and artillery embraced the opportunity when retiring to load their horses with grass, consequently the appearance of the squadrons was most peculiar, the

heads of the men alone appearing above their green loads.

The proximity of the two camps encouraged desertion, and a few of our Kurdish irregulars profited by this opportunity for gratifying their treacherous disposition. Their loss was fortunately not attended with any great misfortune to the army. Not a single Turkish soldier, belonging to the Nizam or regular army, went over to the enemy. The religion and brotherly bonds which unite the Turkish race, accompanied with the bitter hatred felt by the soldiers for the "Muscov Giaours," were circumstances unfavourable to desertion. In the Russian camp it was otherwise, and deserters continued to escape into the Turkish lines. Their reports agreed in describing the misery of the Russian troops: for twelve months these had received no pay, and sickness had greatly ravaged their ranks. The numerical strength of the Russian army was thus ascertained with tolerable accuracy, and was as follows :

Infantry—17 battalions: average strength 600 men per battalion, and one battalion of sappers and miners.

Cavalry—20 squadrons of dragoons of the 3rd, 4th, and 8th regiments: average strength 105 sabres per squadron.

Cossacks—500 Cossacks of the Don and 700 of the line.

Artillery—54 pieces.

Twenty carts laden with sick were being daily transported to Gumri from the Russian camp, where consequently great sickness prevailed.

It was likewise affirmed by these deserters, some of whom were superior in intelligence to the ordinary race of Russian soldiers, that the garrison of Orenburg, on the Caspian Sea, composed of regular troops, had been ordered to join the army of Gumri. The Wallachian militia, lately raised in that unhappy province, had been despatched overland, according to the same authorities, to replace the above garrison. As some time must have elapsed before the arrival of the militia, and as Orenburg could not be left destitute of a garrison, it was impossible that the above reinforcement could arrive in time to take part in this campaign; this intelligence created, therefore, no very great alarm.

The position of the Russian soldiers was described as being most pitiable: not only were they not paid, but even proper nourishment was denied them. Each private received daily three pounds of biscuit; but of this always the half, sometimes the entire, was putrid. Every two days a ration of meat, half a pound in weight, was served to the soldier; a quantity scarcely enough to keep soul and body together. In the Caucasian army the commanding officers gave full license to their peculative instincts.

The Turkish encampment at Hadgi-Velikhoi, though admirably adapted for defensive measures, was unfavourable for offensive operations; the surrounding country being of so open a description that the slightest movement was instantaneously discovered by the enemy and anticipated: otherwise, the Turkish position was excellent. Water, that chief necessity for an encampment, abounded, and the neighbourhood afforded inexhaustible supplies of forage for the cavalry and artillery. Repeated reconnoissances, however, established the fact that the real strategic position which should have been occupied by the Ottoman army was Perghet. In a sanitary point of view, and also with respect to water and forage, the position of Hadgi-Velikhoi was more favourable; but a successful attack on the Russian army could alone be directed from Perghet. A series of hills, which intersected Perghet from the Russian position, would have concealed the movements of the Turks; the Russians might have been menaced with a flank attack, and, under the circumstances, would have been compelled probably to refuse battle and to evacuate the Turkish territory. An error had been committed in the first instance in establishing the Ottoman camp at Hadgi-Velikhoi, and it was now determined to amend the past and march on Perghet.

When every preparation for the approaching

change had been completed, circumstances occurred, as we shall see hereafter, which compelled the Turkish army to remain in its first position.

The presence of the two hostile armies on the frontiers had proved fatal to the surrounding villages, which were ruthlessly destroyed, or were menaced with inevitable ruin. Perghet, a large hamlet, where General Kmeti had formerly established his head-quarters, was destroyed, along with several smaller villages in its vicinity. Ingedere and Kurekdere had also fallen a prey to the enemy. Then, on the side of the Turks, Soobattan and Hadgi-Velikhoi were dismantled for the sake of the wood, and walls of mud alone testified to the former existence of these villages.

Waving crops of corn had covered the ground on which the Turkish army encamped, and thus the last resources of the poor peasantry were destroyed. The fields of corn that separated the rival armies were carried away by the Russians, and consumed by their cavalry. On the side of the Turks, forage existed in boundless quantities, whilst the numerous Russian cavalry were sore pressed for supplies, and were thus driven to adopt the unsatisfactory diet of unripe corn.

The month of July, always hot and oppressive in the East, is doubly so in the table-lands of Armenia, where a short interval of spring, summer and

autumn, altogether but of four months' duration; alone breaks through the terrible rigour of winter, which lasts for the rest of the year. In these four months the crops are sown and reaped: often a double crop rewards the patience of the peasant. The heat during these months is necessarily great, and is only equalled by the excessive severity of the long and dreary winter. Towards the end of April, a deluge of rain generally pours down upon the country, and continues for about a week; the remainder of the year is delivered up to the successive influences of sun and snow, and a further visitation of rain is almost unknown.

The year 1854 was, however, an exception to this rule, for towards the middle and end of June, terrible storms of thunder accompanied with rain burst over the hostile encampments, and transformed the plains into a perfect morass. Military operations on an extensive scale were thus rendered impossible, and the movements premeditated by the enemy, and of which at the time we were perfectly ignorant, were abandoned until a more favourable period.

In the meanwhile stragglers were daily captured by the Turkish patrols, and deserters from the enemy were numerous. So strong, in fact, had desertion set in amongst the Mussulman troops of the Russian army, that General Bebutoff decided

upon sending to their homes the Grusian legions, the Mingrelian cohorts, and other Mahometan militia regiments bearing equally high sounding names.

A bashi-bazook one day brought in a prize in the person of a Russian medical man, who was calmly botanising in the neighbourhood of the Turkish camp: some sceptical individuals roundly asserted that the Russian doctor was nothing less than a Russian spy. Bands of bashi-bazooks continued to arrive in the camp, in parties of ten, fifty, and a hundred, from the neighbourhoods of Bagdad and Damascus. Some of these irregulars had been more than two months on the road, and arrived just in time to be defeated and to be despatched again to their homes.

From the accounts of the deserters, it appeared that discord reigned in the Russian camp. General Bebutoff was reported to be greatly offended that his long and faithful services had not been rewarded, and that a comparatively young man, General Read, should have been nominated the successor of Prince Woronzoff as governor of the Caucasian provinces. General Barantiski, the head of the staff, was said to be on very bad terms with General Bebutoff; and in fact the state of the Russian army was represented as being by no means healthy.

General Read, who had succeeded the amiable

Prince Woronzoff in the governorship of the Trans-Caucasian territory, was not destined to occupy that position for any great length of time. A few months later he was replaced by General Muravieff, who is the present governor of those valuable but costly provinces of Russia.

CHAPTER X.

LIFE IN THE CAMP.

No existence can be more delightful than that led under an elegant marquee pitched on a flower-spangled meadow, beside a rushing stream. No annoyance more severe than a passing summer shower, or the unexpected visit of an inquisitive toad, disturbs the calm tranquillity of the dweller under canvass, who is menaced with no greater danger than that arising from the possible irritability of gnats or wasps. Even beneath the Crimean sky, under the solid protection of British bayonets, a life in camp is pleasant, provided the weather be dry and the commissariat arrangements satisfactory. But the existence in the Turkish encampment at Hadgi-Velikhoi, was very different to either of them; being less enviable, though certainly more exciting. The outpost duties were neglected, the sentries were inclined to somnolency, and a distance of an hour's rapid march alone separated the ill-guarded camp from a powerful enemy. A night surprise was

constantly anticipated by the Europeans in the camp; who comprehended the facility with which the Russian army might have assailed the Turkish position, created a panic, and destroyed the Ottoman force. For the first week an attack was nightly awaited, and we all retired to rest in the confident expectation of being aroused by the report of the advance of the enemy: the horses were kept saddled, and everybody laid down to sleep booted and clothed. After the expiration of the first week, as the Russians neglected to make their appearance, the sentiment of insecurity declined, and before long I undressed and retired to my camp bed with the greatest unconcern. I have since reflected on the unsatisfactory ride I should have had, *en chemise*, across the plain of Kars, had the Russians attacked our camp and engendered, as they would infallibly have done, a disastrous panic.

The Turkish commanders barely comprehended the necessity of regular outposts, and imagined that the presence of a few advanced bashi-bazooks afforded perfect security to the camp. The regimental officers were totally ignorant of the manner in which sentinels and advanced guards were posted; and in this instance the services of the European staff were, for the first and last time, called into action. General Guyon, in his capacity of head of the staff, undertook the direction of the outposts,

and provided for the safety of the army. Three regiments of infantry were nightly told off, and proceeded, under the direction of two Europeans of the staff, to post themselves in the best positions. Detachments of cavalry patrolled in advance; and the bashi-bazooks, when they were not sleepy, kept the enemy's sentinels awake by their shouts and partial attacks. General Guyon visited nightly the whole line of outposts, to see that his arrangements were properly carried out. At times some amusing circumstances occurred. Once, a regiment told off for some important position, not finding its way to the part assigned it, calmly returned to camp and retired to rest, leaving the whole left flank of the camp completely unprotected. Another regiment mistook its way, and passed the night under the very noses of the enemy; who, had they been vigilant might have captured the whole body. The European officers, who were alternately charged with the posting of the sentinels, by no means appreciated that labour; few of them understood Turkish, and could not therefore make themselves comprehended by the Ottoman colonels, who in their turn would have preferred sleeping under canvass to shivering in the cold night air. Differences nightly arose amongst the staff officers on the question of whose turn it was to take the round, each one asserting that it was his neighbour's. This circumstance did

not speak of a high state of discipline, nor did it materially assist the engagement undertaken by General Guyon. Fortunately, the security of the outpost arrangements was not submitted to trial, consequently it would be ungraceful on my part to question their efficiency.

The Turkish encampment was subdivided into two separate camps. The lower one was commanded by the Reis, Kerim Pacha; the upper one by the Muchir in person. The staff and the Europeans had pitched their tents in the latter encampment, and had selected for their position a little valley encircled by ravines. The tents were pitched in a long row, at the top of which was erected the marquee of General Guyon. The Polish generals had established themselves in the vicinity of the Muchir; Kmeti was as usual in front, with his bashi-bazooks. General Colman accompanied Kerim Pacha in the capacity of military adviser.

To the rear of the line of tents containing the European colony with the army, were established the servants' quarters, at the back of which were picquetted the horses.

I employed my tent merely as a sleeping apartment, as I occupied a commodious marquee in company with Iskender Bey, the *sous chef* of the staff: we likewise clubbed together our commissariat stores with great success. We were

fortunate enough to engage an excellent cook, in the person of an old Tyrolese servant, whose arrival in the camp I have had already occasion to mention. This excellent *chef* eventually quitted our service, and was transformed into an army surgeon. Provisions were now to be obtained in abundance. Kurdish peasants brought into the camp for sale lambs and sheep in plenty, and speculators from Erzeroum had arrived in camp with luxuries of every description. Armenian sutlers had likewise established themselves near the tents of the staff, and offered for sale inferior wine, and still more detestable spirits. Their customers consisted chiefly in the servants of the officers, who were in general a drunken and worthless lot. They had, however, one excellent customer, in the person of a gallant but thirsty French *talemgi*, or instructor. This gentleman had served in the Chasseurs d'Afrique; but a too strongly developed affection for the bottle had interfered with his promotion in that distinguished corps. So accustomed were the horses of this *talemgi* to draw up at the sutlers' stores in question, that it had become quite a mechanical process on the part of those intelligent quadrupeds. This French officer had, however, many redeeming qualities over and above that of great personal gallantry: he was the best-natured man in the camp, and was also an indefatigable rider. Nothing could afford

him greater satisfaction than to request him as a favour to fetch some trifling article from Kars, a distance of eighteen miles; he was thus pleased at being enabled to render a service to a friend, whilst at the same time his galloping inclinations were amply gratified.

Our existence in the camp of Hadgi-Velikhoi was far from being an unpleasant one on the whole. The weather was generally favourable, and the visitations, so trying to camp life, of rain and mud were of rare occurrence. Sickness scarcely existed in the camp; and, notwithstanding the heat and the number of troops concentrated in one confined space, cholera was unknown. The allied troops were at this time dying by thousands at Varna and in the Dobrudscha, and the accounts we received of the condition of the British and French armies were truly heartrending. Had the thousands who fell ingloriously under the pestilential atmosphere of Varna or Gallipoli been despatched to the assistance of the army of Anatolia, how different a story should I be now recording.

The intelligence from Europe became of a most exciting nature, and the arrival of letters and newspapers was awaited in the camp with anxiety. The Turkish pachas had not despaired of peace being concluded; and in this infatuation they resembled the Allied commanders; for up to the very last

moment, the British generals and admirals commanding the expedition to the Crimea appear to have considered the re-establishment of peace as inevitable. On the night that the allied expedition had commenced, landing in Kalamita Bay, the despatch steamer "Banshee" arrived from Constantinople with despatches. The first words of Admiral Dundas to the commander of the "Banshee" were, "You have brought us peace;" and great was the surprise of the British admiral on learning, on the contrary, that the war was to be pushed with vigour.

The arrival of newspapers and letters, I have observed, were impatiently awaited in the camp; and the French and German papers afforded us a great deal of amusement, if not much instruction. It was delightful to read of the victories obtained, or the defeats sustained by the army of Kars, which as yet had not discharged a musket: at one time we were reported by these veracious authorities as having penetrated into Georgia, whilst another account amiably described the army as having been swept into the Black Sea. It was difficult, in fact, to know how the Anatolian army really stood; for, at times, we were reported as having ceased to exist, whilst another journal of the same date described our triumphant entry into Tiflis. Some wonderful anecdotes were circulated in the French press with respect to General Guyon. One Paris paper gravely

asserted that he had been in early life a tub manufacturer, and had resided in that capacity in Vienna until the explosion of the Hungarian rebellion.

The post-bag never failed to convey to General Guyon letters from all parts of the world, addressed to him by individuals who, mistaken in his identity, believed themselves related to him. Some of these letters were very curious. One from an old lady in the south of France implored her beloved son Jacques Guyon not to fight for the pagan Turks, but to join his two brothers in Algeria. A letter from a wine merchant of Paris, desired Pierre Guyon, now that he was up in the world, to settle his little account. Another was written by an individual who, under the hallucination of having been a school-fellow of the general's, requested him, in memory of the windows they had broken together and the mischief they had performed in younger days, to appoint the writer a colonel in the Turkish service. There were also letters from people requesting to know if the Christian name of the general was not Alphonse, or Jules, or Théodore, as the writers had a relation of that name whom they had no doubt was the Guyon spoken of in the newspapers. The letters all mentioned the delight with which the said relatives would welcome their newly-found cousin, or nephew, to their homes in Montpellier, Nismes, or Strasbourg, as the case might be; a postscript,

however, generally betrayed the interesting fact that, owing to unavoidable circumstances, the correspondents were reduced in the world, and would accept with gratitude a loan from their relative in Asia. It is to be presumed that, had they possessed the slightest knowledge of the world, they could not have entertained any great hopes of being recognised by their long-lost kinsman. General Guyon, it is scarcely necessary to add, was entirely innocent of all these relatives; he also stoutly repudiated all the little bills and accounts that came flowing in upon him, headed by every Christian name but his own.

The colonels of the regiments encamped in the vicinity of the staff were agreeable men, and I passed some hours of each day in visiting one and the other accompanied by Iskender Bey, (Lieutenant-Colonel Fritz), who spoke Turkish like a native. The colonel of the 6th Arabistany regiment, Catib Bey, who was exceedingly kind to me, was in the habit of giving periodical luncheons. These luncheons were serious meals, and consisted of thirty or forty different dishes and an equal number of sweetmeats and sherbets. The Turk is naturally of a hospitable disposition, and in the Asiatic Osmanli, the inhabitants of Syria or Arabistania, this quality is strongly developed. During these repasts, the regimental band, which was one of the

best in the army, performed European pieces in excellent style outside the tent : selections from the Prophète and Lucrezia Borgia were admirably played by the band ; and never was I more surprised when the musicians one day struck up the familiar English air "Cheer boys, cheer!" The "Marsel-laise" was a very favourite tune with the Turks, who evidently considered it to be the national air of all Frankistan, including Great Britain and the colonies. The band-masters, curiously enough, were ignorant of "God save the Queen," but by dint of hard whistling I impressed upon one of these gentlemen the melody of our national anthem, which was subsequently performed with an infinity of shakes and ornaments quite unknown in the original music.

The conversation of the Turkish colonels and officers was highly amusing : the *aplomb* with which they uttered the greatest absurdity respecting European customs and habits, was rendered doubly entertaining by the fact that it was utterly impossible to convince them that they were in error. Another peculiarity of the Turks was the aversion they appeared to entertain towards one another : I never heard one Turk speak well of his neighbour. "Fuad Effendi," I would remark, "is certainly a clever statesman." A significant shake of the head proved that my opinion, (which by the by is

correct,) was not shared by the company. To my qualified praise of Reschid Pacha, the Turks very sagaciously replied that he had ruined the empire for the benefit of his own family. Omer Pacha, they described as a quack; Ismail Pacha, as a fool; Mehemet Ali Pacha, as a ruffian. In fact, to believe the Turks themselves, there did not exist a single honest, brave, or talented man in the empire. Of the Padishah they alone spoke with respect, but at the same time without enthusiasm.

With these officers the war was certainly unpopular, and they had the moral courage to confess it : in fact, had it not been for the war, these colonels and pachas would have been dwelling in delicious inaction in Damascus or Stamboul, instead of risking their valuable lives on the Georgian frontier; and in place of seeing their arrears of pay increase day by day, they would have been quietly accumulating the means of rising in their profession. Nothing, I may add, was farther from the thoughts or wishes of the Turkish officers than to engage with the enemy : they looked upon their profession as one of the many facile means, open in the East, to exist in idleness at the expense of the state. Chivalrous aspirations they possessed few, and the man who could defraud government without detection was more likely to prove an object of esteem, than he who would charge an enemy's battery. This deplorable moral corrup-

tion will be greatly diminished by the present war, which must necessarily develop the more virile qualities of the nation. The intercourse and example of the allied army will likewise have a favourable tendency on the future prospects of the Ottoman empire ; but as long as the present corrupt elements rule at Stamboul, no hopes of a real regeneration of Turkey can for one moment be entertained. The Reschid Pachas and the Rizza Pachas whom the European public have been blindly taught to respect as reformers and statesmen, are the individuals who have brought Turkey to the last stage of decrepitude : through their misdeeds has the Turk been led to despair of himself and of his country.

I have had occasion to allude to the Mustechar Pacha or Paymaster-General, as a very meritorious Turkish official, who was justly popular with the army of Kars, for his probity and generosity. The intrigues of the Muchir, and of the above clique at Constantinople, resulted in the removal of the Mustechar Pacha, who took his departure from the camp towards the commencement of July. This was a severe blow to the poor private soldiers and subaltern officers, who had now lost their only friend in the higher regions of the camp. After the departure of the Mustechar, the troops were unpaid, and the public treasury was defrauded by the commanding pachas.

The clemency of the weather had resulted advantageously to the Turkish soldier; for, from a diet akin to starvation, they sprang into the enjoyment of abundance. Fresh meat, rice, and coffee, were supplied the troops in sufficient quantities, and it would have been difficult to recognise in the plump, good-tempered-looking men the starving and demoralised soldiers of the winter. The only drawback to the comfort of the army in its position at Hadgi-Velikhoi, was the absence of wood in the surrounding country. The regimental officers, who could dispose of the services of their men, suffered less from this want than the staff, who had no similar means at their disposal. At first I suffered extremely from this want of fuel, but subsequently, through the kindness of Cateb Bey and some other colonels encamped in the neighbourhood, I received a periodical supply. The temper of Antonio, the Tyrolese cook, was sorely tried at times; when after having prepared the materials for dinner with infinite care, he would discover the terrible fact that no wood was forthcoming to make a fire. This Antonio was a fund of great amusement: nature had unfortunately given him the worst temper that ever tormented a cook, and his whole existence was passed in disputation. Predatory grooms, or inquisitive soldiers, who lifted up the lids of the saucepans to see the kind of diet patronised by

Europeans, drove the poor man into fits of anger ; and Iskender Bey or myself was constantly obliged to rush from our tent to withdraw him from the risks and perils of single combat. Three grooms quitted me on account of Antonio's sad temper, and it was only by the display of a patience unparalleled since the days of Job, that the fourth was able to remain in my service. Poor Antonio's temper had, however, its redeeming qualities : if towards man he was inimical and bitter, nothing could exceed his affection for dumb animals. Under his watchful eye our horses were no longer neglected by the lazy Eastern grooms ; who were terrified into activity by the old man's violence. His spare time Antonio passed in fondling the horses, who recognised his step with demonstrations of joy, or in playing with Caro, my wolf-dog : the latter was an especial favourite with him, notwithstanding the heinous crimes of which he had been guilty. In fact, Caro could no more restrain his appetite than Antonio could his temper : three distinct times did Caro devour the dinner that was slowly simmering on the camp fire ; and yet, marvellous to relate, he had escaped with his life : had a human being been guilty of a similar offence, I dread to imagine the consequences. After the third misdeed of Caro's, it was deemed necessary to attach him to an araba, where he was safe from mischief : there the dog remained all day, amusing

himself by darting at the passing soldiers, or fighting with the oxen that were grazing within reach of his chain. At night, Caro was allowed to roam about the camp ; to the great annoyance of the sentinels, whose slumbers he disturbed by the formidable barking in which he expressed his disapprobation at the presence of the full moon.

During the first few days of our encampment at Hadgi-Velikhoi, a decisive action was considered inevitable. As, however, one favourable opportunity after another was neglected by the Turkish commanders, it became evident that, unless circumstances of an imperious nature arose, no engagement would be offered or accepted by the Anatolian army. So firm was my conviction on that point, that I was on the eve of quitting the Turkish encampment, in order to make a tour in Persia ; when circumstances that I had certainly not anticipated occurred which led me to abandon the latter intention. Events were now drawing to a crisis in Asia, as will be perceived in the conclusion of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.

WHILST the regular troops that composed the army of Anatolia were condemned by the incapacity and hesitation of their commanders to a suicidal inaction, and the enemy was permitted to concentrate, under the very eyes of the Ottoman encampment, the numerical force that was indispensable to the execution of his premeditated plans, the honour and reputation of the Turkish army was partially sustained by the dashing gallantry of the much-abused bashi-bazooks.

On the night of the 16th July, General Kmeti, with the force of irregular cavalry at his command, performed a feat unsurpassed in daring; and which displayed the good services of which the despised bashi-bazooks are capable when conducted by an officer in whom they place infinite confidence. The operation of General Kmeti exposed the false position taken up by the enemy; and which a more

enterprising army than the Turkish would immediately have turned to its advantage.

General Kmeti, on the day in question, gave orders for the different chieftains of bashi-bazooks to concentrate their followers on a given point. In the dead of night Kmeti divided his force of 1500 horsemen into three columns ; the command of one he intrusted to Hadgi Denera, that of the second to Colonel Tevis, and the third column he led himself. At midnight the three bodies left the rendezvous, and by a rapid ride turned the extreme left flank of the Russians, and thus gained the rear of the enemy. Kmeti had formed the daring plan of marching upon Gumri, and attempting to fire that fortress ; but he had been overruled by the Muchir, who had with great reluctance given to the gallant Hungarian permission to undertake the present operation. Having penetrated to the rear of the enemy without detection, the columns of irregulars advanced in deep silence on the village of Baindir ; which, situated within a short distance of Gumri, was of great tactical importance to the enemy. Baindir was defended by some slight redoubts, and was garrisoned by a body of Georgian militia and Cossacks.

The bashi-bazooks arrived before the village at daybreak, and after a slight rest prepared for action. One column remained before the place to

guard against surprise from the enemy's cavalry ; a second column advanced against the village, whilst the third dashed at full gallop into the redoubts manned by the militia. The surprise was complete, and the Russian garrison, totally demoralised by the sudden nature of the attack, offered but a faint resistance. The Russian redoubts were captured off-hand, and the defenders cut down.

The alarm had now been raised in the village, and the whole garrison poured out to repulse the bashi-bazooks, who now wild with excitement proved irresistible. The Georgian militia and the Cossacks were totally defeated, and finally took refuge in the houses, which they barricaded. The Turkish irregulars could with difficulty be restrained by Kmeti from firing the place, and thus destroying the Russians to a man. The scouts, who had been left to the rear by the general, announced that the whole camp of the enemy was in motion, and that the Russian dragoons were preparing to mount. No further time could be wasted, and it was necessary to evacuate Baindir before the enemy had intercepted all means of retreat. The bashi-bazooks re-formed their columns, and collecting the spoils of the night, returned to their quarters ; taking a contrary direction to the one by which they had advanced. The irregulars arrived in perfect safety in camp, and were received by the whole army with loud

demonstrations of triumph and joy. The bashi-bazooks sustained a very trifling loss. The Russians had lost eighty men killed, with many wounded ; five prisoners were made, and 400 sheep fell into the hands of the victors. Several women were captured by the lawless irregulars, who enveloped their fair booty in their cloaks and rode off, in spite of cries and entreaties. This circumstance came to the ears of General Kmeti, and he at once ordered the release of these poor women ; who, much to the disgust of their captors, were sent back to the Russian camp under a flag of truce.

This successful *coup de main* was but one of many undertaken by General Kmeti. Had it not been for the continual skirmishes and daring attacks of the bashi-bazooks, the Turkish camp would have been the scene of the most disgraceful inaction. The success and bravery of the above irregulars alone preserved the Ottoman army from the contempt to which the inactivity of its chiefs threatened to reduce it. The poor bashi-bazooks, so despised by all who were ignorant of the utility which can be extracted from their disorderly energy, are entitled to the greatest praise for their conduct in Asia : they alone now represent the fire and valour that, in the past, shed such imperishable lustre on the Mussulman arms. Under the indefatigable command of General Kmeti, in whom alone they

placed confidence, not a day or night passed without witnessing some brilliant deed—of no great utility, it is true, but only because of its not being followed up by the regular army.

A week after the successful night attack on Baindir, the Muchir proposed to General Kmeti to undertake a more important operation. The commander-in-chief promised to support the movements of the irregulars with a strong force of regular troops composed of the three arms. Kmeti accepted this proposition with joy, and prepared his plans for a night attack on the Russian encampment. It was whispered in the Turkish tents that something important was on the eve of taking place, and the greatest joy was expressed by the troops at the prospect of engaging with the enemy. The bashi-bazooks, elated with their previous triumphs, were impatient for the arrival of dusk, which was to witness their fresh exploits; and the delight of the poor irregulars at the promise of being supported by real cannon and regular infantry was indescribable. The evening of the 22nd July arrived, and the commanders of the bashi-bazooks again received from General Kmeti instructions to concentrate their forces at a certain hour at a point he named. That general, having had a final interview with the Muchir, when he satisfactorily concerted his plans with the commander-in-chief, advanced before

daybreak against the Russian camp. The Muchir had promised to support the advance with some regiments of infantry and cavalry, and also with some horse artillery. Kmeti, in the belief that this promise would be eventually performed, charged with his bashi-bazooks at the centre of the Russian camp. The grey mist of dawn concealed the presence of the Turks until the most dashing of the irregulars had penetrated into the very tents of the enemy. The first line of the Russian outposts was captured by the bashi-bazooks, who soon found themselves engaged with the whole force of the enemy. They were speedily surrounded, and Kmeti in vain looked out for the promised succour of regular troops, who were to second his assault. Not a movement was perceivable in the Turkish camp, and further resistance of the bashi-bazooks would only have led to the inevitable destruction of all. Artillery was speedily brought to bear upon the latter by the Russians, and regiments of dragoons and Cossacks prepared to intercept their retreat. General Kmeti gave orders to retire, and the bashi-bazooks, concentrating their numbers, cut their way through the ranks of the enemy, and succeeded in escaping beyond range of the Russian cannon. There Kmeti halted and awaited the explanations of the Muchir. The irregulars were furious at the treatment they had encountered

at the hands of that commander, and openly menaced him with the weight of their indignation. The most daring of the unfortunate irregulars had perished in this unsuccessful enterprise, and the survivors denounced, with reason, the unpardonable conduct of the regular army. The poor troops composing the latter were, however, entirely blameless; they had wished for nothing better than to support the Arab warriors, and on the Muchir and native Pachas alone devolved the blame attending the above disaster. Amongst the victims of that morning was an orderly attached to General Kmeti, who fell wounded in the retreat by the side of his master. This poor fellow, a sergeant in the regular cavalry, who had served Kmeti faithfully, and had accompanied him in every former enterprise, was bitterly regretted by that general. The barbarity of the enemy displayed towards this unfortunate orderly will create little surprise, when the atrocities committed at Inkerman are taken into consideration: the Cossacks surrounded the wounded man and deliberately cut his throat from ear to ear; they then completely stripped the body of their victim, which was subsequently recovered in that condition by the irregulars. The roar of the Russian artillery had aroused the Ottoman camp, and the Muchir tardily prepared to act with energy. The whole army was called under arms, and forming in line of

battle, advanced against the enemy. In the meanwhile the Russians advanced from their encampment, and likewise drew up in order of battle.

Remarking the advance of the Turkish army, General Kmeti proposed to resume the offensive. At the head of 300 bashi-bazooks, that gallant general fell upon a Russian heavy dragoon regiment which was posted in advance of the enemy's batteries, and a desperate fight ensued. The dragoons gave way, and sought protection behind the artillery, which opened a discharge of grape on the bashi-bazooks. These, for the first time on record, stood the fire of cannon, for which they have an invincible though natural terror, and charged the battery. Again, in this disgraceful day, were the irregulars sacrificed to the indifference, or absence of spirit, of the Muchir: the advancing troops halted by command of the latter, and the unfortunate bashi-bazooks were allowed to sustain single-handed the fearful struggle against the enemy's dragoons and artillery. A large portion of the 300 remained on the ground, and the remainder dispersed beyond cannon range, venting their rage against the cowardice of the Turkish commanders in no measured terms.

The expectations of the troops and irregulars were both doomed to bitter disappointment, for nothing was further from the Muchir's thoughts than to

engage with the enemy : in fact, having drawn out his army to within an hour's distance from the Russian lines, he commanded a halt. For nearly two hours the Turkish army remained in this humiliating position, and then the Muchir ordered the whole army to retreat. Thus, instead of witnessing the arrival of the regular troops who were to support their movement, the bashi-bazooks beheld the infantry and artillery retiring and the cavalry manœuvring at an hour's distance. Perceiving it was not the intention of the Muchir to offer battle to the enemy, I accompanied Iskender Bey and Rustem Bey to inspect the Russian position, and take advantage of this favourable opportunity for examining the enemy's troops. Rustem Bey was an Armenian colonel in the service of the Porte ; he descended from a warlike race, who inhabited the mountainous regions of Russian Armenia, where his family exercised a kind of feudal government. Rustem Bey had been seized when young by the Russians, who had given him a commission in their army ; in which he had risen to the rank of major and had served with distinction. He had subsequently been quartered with his regiment on the frontiers of Prussia ; whence, deceiving the surveillance of his commanders, he succeeded, after a wonderful series of narrow escapes, in gaining the Prussian territory. He subsequently proposed to the Turkish government to

raise a corps of his kinsmen and followers ; and in order to facilitate that enterprise, he had been despatched to the head-quarters of the Anatolian army, from whence he could freely correspond with his native land.

Pushing our horses to a canter, we rapidly passed over the meadows and corn-fields that intersected the two hostile army. On our way we encountered many bands of the hashi-bazooks, some returning from their late encounter with the dragoons, others going to the scene of action. It was a picturesque scene. The usual passive exterior of these Arab and Kurdish irregulars had given way to intense excitement ; their eyes flashed as they curveted about on their slight active Arab steeds, and flourished their long murderous-looking lances. Some of these bands numbered their tens, others their hundreds, and all were commanded by patriarchal old men with flowing white beards. One venerable old man—he must have numbered his fourscore years—dashed past us at full speed, followed by his band ; while passing us he threw his spear, and then bending from his saddle, picked it from the ground without checking his horse.


As we drew near to the Russian position, the men set up their war-cry of "*Gauga, gauga*" (To the battle), and those who had muskets commenced loading. At length, on passing a slight eminence, we came upon the whole Russian army, drawn up in

line of battle and awaiting the attack of the Turkish troops, who had already retired to their camp and were now actively engaged in cooking their pillau. The Russian camp was posted behind a small mountain, which rose alone in the plain, and concealed it from the river Arpa-tschai; and on each flank of this mountain the Russian troops were drawn out. A deep ditch in advance concealed a line of riflemen; behind this were the batteries, flanked by dragoons and light cavalry. To the rear of the artillery, and leaning on the mountain, were the infantry battalions. The staff of Prince Bebutoff was on the mountain, and aides-de-camp were riding up and down. The Russian ranks were in very fine order, the distances well preserved, and the troops bore that attitude of calm superiority which the inactivity of the Turks had allowed them to assume. The bashi-bazooks instantly opened a fire on the Russian riflemen, who disdained to reply. We saw few Cossacks on the ground, and therefore presumed that the Russian irregulars were stationed in the surrounding villages, in order to resist any night attacks that might be directed against them by our bashi-bazooks; the Russian staff had already commenced descending the hill, and the bugles sounded the retreat; the cavalry and artillery wheeled about, and with the infantry marched slowly back to their encampment.

Being desirous of examining more closely the site.

of the camp, which was concealed by an angle of the hill, we pressed on. Not imagining ourselves to be within danger, we were calmly watching the retiring army and admiring the excellent appearance of the dragoons, who were trotting back to their quarters, when suddenly we were assailed by a discharge from the riflemen in the ditch, whom we had overlooked. These had probably distinguished us by our dress from the irregulars, and had deemed us worthy of a salute. The balls fortunately were all aimed too high, and whistled over our heads. As we wheeled and galloped to a safe distance the whole line fired, but without success, and a bashi-bazook's horse alone fell a victim to the discharge of the enemy. This fusillade had taken us entirely by surprise, and I must confess that our retreat was anything but dignified. We halted at a considerable distance beyond range, and observed, without being disturbed, the march of the enemy retiring to his quarters. I thanked my stars at having had to do with Russian marksmen, and not with our Rifles or the famous Chasseurs de Vincennes.

On returning to the Turkish camp, we found that the cavalry had finished its peaceful manœuvres. The three and twenty pachas who commanded the Anatolian army were occupied as I had left them, in surveying the enemy's retreat through their three and twenty telescopes; but the troops and the



European officers were loudly deploring that fate which had placed them under their present incapable leaders. The Muchir had intended the above march and countermarch as a demonstration; but unfortunately the troops knew nothing of demonstrations, and having been drawn out, had concluded that it was in order to fight. Having been thus disappointed, they naturally speculated upon the reason, and logically inferred that their chiefs considered the Russians too powerful for them; although in numerical superiority the Turks were two to one. A few similar demonstrations, and the spirit of the finest army in the world would be quenched.

The Russian generals did the Turks the honour to conclude that the operations of the day had been intended to cover some tactical movement: the Turkish left wing having been concealed from the view of the enemy by some small hills, Prince Bebutoff had conceived that some flank movement menaced him. This was subsequently learnt from deserters. In consequence of this fear, two regiments of dragoons with a battery of horse artillery appeared to the left of the Turkish camp; but having satisfied themselves that all was quiet, and no movement meditated by the Turks, that force retired. It would appear from the troops being kept under arms all the evening, that a night attack was dreaded by the Muchir.

The 24th of July dawned and discovered the Ottoman camp unmolested. Several of the bashi-bazooks' leaders rode into the camp in the course of the day, and commented bitterly on the farce of the previous morning. That the irregulars should have been allowed to engage the whole Russian force, whilst the regular cavalry manœuvred at an hour's distance, was a fertile source of complaint to the former. Intelligence which arrived that day from Stamboul, announced a victory obtained by the Turks over the Russians at Rustchuk. The accounts circulated with respect to the advantages gained, were supposed, as indeed they subsequently proved to be, exaggerated; but a discharge of cannon conveyed to the ears of the Russians the unwelcome intelligence.

Had it not been for the kind activity of Omer Pacha, and the occasional salvos which celebrated his victories, the Turkish cannon in Asia would have rusted from want of employment.

The succeeding days of the month of July were passed in complete inactivity. The discontent of the bashi-bazooks had increased, and many bands left the army and returned to their homes.

On the 2nd of August a messenger arrived from Bayazid with intelligence which threw consternation into the hearts of the Turkish commanders; who

now, when too late,' perceived the consequences of their fatal supineness.

The inactivity of the Turkish army had permitted Prince Bebutoff to despatch strong reinforcements to the army of Erivan, which had advanced against the Turkish force at Bayazid, and completely routed it. The right wing of the army of Kars had in fact ceased to exist.

The following day brought fresh details of this catastrophe, which was even more disastrous than at first anticipated.

CHAPTER XII.

BAYAZID.

THE right wing of the Anatolian army was posted at Bayazid, and faced the Russian left wing, that inclined on the ancient town of Erivan. The Turkish division was composed of 3000 regular troops, with seven cannon and above 2000 irregulars. The whole was under the command of Selim Pacha; who must not be confounded with the general of the same name, defeated previously at Urzughetti. Attached to Selim Pacha in the capacity of staff officers, were two Polish subalterns of undoubted incapacity; who, it is not improbable, encouraged that commander to risk the action which brought ruin on his army. The Muchir, Zarif Mustafa Pacha, had instructed Selim Pacha to remain on the defensive; and formal orders to that effect had been furnished to the latter by General Guyon, in his position as head of the staff. These orders could not admit of misconception, and were as follows:—

1. By no means to engage the enemy.
2. In case

the enemy should seriously menace Bayazid, to abandon that town and retire on Kars. 3. In the event of being surprised and defeated, to retreat on Erzeroum; and by no means to take refuge in Van, an ancient fortified town, as in that event the road to the former important place would be open to the pursuing enemy.

Great therefore was the terror in the camp of Hadgi-veli-khoi, when it became known that not only had Selim Pacha disobeyed his instructions, but that he had been totally defeated. His army was moreover dispersed, and Erzeroum was reported as being menaced by the victorious Russians. The rear of the Turkish army was thus threatened, and the greatest confusion reigned in the counsels of the pachas. Some advocated an immediate retreat on Kars; others proposed to despatch a strong division to Bayazid to recover that town, and thus intercept the pursuing Russians. It was at length determined to await further intelligence from Selim Pacha, and to act accordingly. It was now felt in the camp that the decisive moment of the campaign had arrived: in fact an interval of three days' alone separated us from one of the most sanguinary battles of modern times.

On the evening of the 2nd of July further particulars arrived from the defeated general, which confirmed the total destruction of the Ottoman

division. It appeared, according to the Turkish account, that on the 28th of July a strong Russian *corps d'armée*, composed of 8000 infantry and cavalry, with thirteen cannon, had advanced from Erivan in the direction of Bayazid. This army, commanded by General Wrangel, comprised a portion of the forces under Prince Bebutoff, which had been silently detached from the main army encamped before Hadgi-veli-khoi. The Russian commander had despatched his best regiment and his dragoons to reinforce the Erivan division, and to strike a deadly blow at the Turkish right wing.

Instead of retiring on Kars, according to his formal instructions, or confining himself to defend Bayazid, the Ottoman commander sallied out with his small force to encounter this superior Russian army. The result could not be doubtful. On the 29th of July the two armies met, and the action commenced. The Turkish irregulars advancing against the Russian infantry, were defeated and pursued by the enemy's dragoons. The regular troops then advanced in disorder, and after a confused struggle, gave way and fled wildly towards Van; leaving 1800 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Four of the seven cannon possessed by the Turks fell into the hands of the victors. The remains of the Ottoman army with Selim Pacha took refuge outside the town of Van; and thus the Turkish general

again transgressed the commands of his superior officer. The governor of Van, anticipating a general pillage, very properly closed the gates of the place on the fugitive army, which consequently encamped beyond the walls of that town.

The action at Bayazid reflected much credit on the Russian troops, although their numerical superiority over the Turkish forces was too great to admit of defeat. Had Selim Pacha remained behind the intrenchments of Bayazid, a different result might, perchance, have awaited the attempt of General Wrangel. To avoid the stigma of partiality, I translate the official Russian dispatch, which describes the victory of Bayazid. Many of the details given are correct, but the strength of the army commanded by Selim Pacha is much exaggerated, as likewise are several other important circumstances.

“The commander of the army of the Caucasus has transmitted to the Minister of War, in order to be brought under the notice of his Majesty the Emperor, the following copy of a report addressed by Lieutenant-General Baron Wrangel, commander of the detachment at Erivan, to the Lieutenant-General Prince Bebutoff, commander of the corps on active service upon the Turkish frontiers of the Caucasus, dated the 30th of July, containing an account of a brilliant victory gained on the 29th of July, upon the heights of Tchinglyl, over a body of

12,000* Turks, who came out of Bayazid, under the command of Selim Pacha, and marched upon our frontier.

“I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that the enemy was completely beaten on the 29th of this month, upon the heights of Tchinglyl, by the troops forming the detachment of Erivan, placed under my command.

“On the 28th July I left the village of Igdyr, with five battalions of infantry, four guns from the batterie de position No. 5, eight pieces from the light battery No. 7 of the 21st brigade of artillery, seven sotnias† of Cossacks of the Don from the 4th and 23rd regiments, six sotnias from the Mussulman regiment No. 4, the Bek militia, and one sotnia of Kurdes. In the whole, there were sixteen sotnias of irregular cavalry. I proceeded by the Orgoff road to Bayazid, marching at eight o'clock in the evening in order to conceal my movements, and to occupy the next morning, at as early an hour as possible, and before the enemy, the crests of the hills. But it rained the whole night, the road was dreadfully cut up, it was extremely difficult to ascend the abrupt acclivities of the mountains, and it was noon before I arrived at the road on the summit with the whole of the cavalry, four battalions, and eight guns

* The actual number was 5000.—*Translator.*

† A Sotnia is composed of 100 lances.

belonging to the light battery No. 7. The enemy, to the number of nearly 12,000 men, infantry and cavalry, had already taken up a strong position there. Across the defile, which at this place extended to 300 *sagènes* in breadth, he had placed four pieces of cannon, five battalions of infantry, and behind them about 5,000 horsemen.* The neighbouring heights were also occupied with infantry. I gave the troops an hour's rest; and then, with the four battalions I had with me, without waiting for the arrival of the fifth, or the four guns, which were delayed by the bad state of the roads, I decided upon attacking the Turks; having perceived that they were continually receiving reinforcements, that they had opened fire upon us from four guns, and that they threatened to turn both our flanks upon the heights, from which, sheltered by the rocks, they caused us some loss by a well-directed fusillade. I opened fire from my eight guns, which I did not delay causing to advance, and threw a shower of grape against the centre of the enemy's position. I posted the infantry upon the flanks of the battery in two lines, with the cavalry behind (four sotnias of Cossacks, and four of militia), in order that at a particular moment the infantry might give place, and, the cavalry rushing through the intervals and

* The Turks had only 2,500 horse, including irregulars.

Translator.

by the flanks, both might then charge the Turks simultaneously.

“After having maintained for a short time a well-supported fire from our artillery and tirailleurs, I led the troops to the attack in the defile, under a concentrated cross-fire from the enemy, with the object of driving in his centre and cutting off the retreat of that portion of his troops which occupied the heights upon our flanks. This movement was crowned with complete success. The enemy was attacked at the point of the bayonet by the infantry, and the same time charged with the lance by the cavalry; his centre was broken, all the troops stationed at that point put to flight, his four guns were immediately turned, and by this operation those who occupied the heights upon our flanks were completely intercepted. Having ordered the cavalry to pursue the enemy, whose centre had been thus destroyed, I marched the infantry in columns upon the heights, in order to take in rear and flank the Turks who were stationed there. They intrenched themselves behind the rocks, from whence it was necessary to dislodge them by the bayonet. The greater part were killed on the spot; only a few were made prisoners, and not a single one escaped. The cavalry pursued the fugitives as far as Karaboulakh, and were only stopped in this duty by the extreme exhaustion of their horses.

“The trophies of this victory are—four pieces of cannon and three ammunition waggons with all their teams, sixteen flags, three field colours, 370 prisoners, arms and drums. More than 2000 * dead bodies, great quantities of munition, camp equipments and stores, cover the field of battle, and the whole road from the hills to Karaboulakh. Two camps, with their provisions and everything that they contained, were abandoned by the Turks; one at Karaboulakh, and the other at Arzap; and they are now occupied by Cossacks. Among the number of dead is Ali Pacha, chief of the bashi-bazooks. The Commander-in-Chief, Selim Pacha, took to flight with the others.

“On our side we have had in the foot regiments and the Cossack regiments 1 subaltern officer and 56 men killed; 10 subaltern officers and 227 men wounded. One superior officer (Lieutenant-Colonel Sacken), 4 subaltern officers, and 35 men sustained contusions. The militia have had about 70 men killed and wounded, but, as far as they are concerned, we have not as yet any positive information. I was myself slightly wounded in the leg by a ball at the commencement of the action.

“In the forenoon of the 18th (30th) July, a deputation from Bayazid and the surrounding

* This is a Russian exaggeration: the killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not exceed 1500 in number,—*Translator*.

villages waited upon me, in order to make the submission of the inhabitants. They announced that the Turks had abandoned Bayazid in complete disorder, having dispersed in different directions, and that they had wholly evacuated the district of Bayazid. I have sent an *avant-garde*, under the command of Col. Khrestchatitsky, to occupy the city, and I shall repair thither in person with the whole detachment. In fact, on all the roads wherever our patrols have hitherto appeared, nothing is met with except traces of disaster and flight—the wounded abandoned, dead bodies, provisions, arms, haversacks, and numerous other effects—but nowhere has the enemy been seen. I believe the result of this conflict will be the complete submission of the Sandjak of Bayazid, the occupation of its chief places, and the entire destruction of the Turkish division of Bayazid.

“I render grateful testimony to your Excellency of the remarkable bravery of the troops under my command. Officers and men marched with the utmost enthusiasm into battle, and their attack was as decisive as it was brilliant.

“With the view of gaining time, I forthwith sent the colours, with a copy of the present report, to M. le Commandant of the army of the Caucasus, confiding them to the sub-lieutenant of the regiment of Chasseurs de Tiflis, Baron Wrangel, who was

attached to my person, because this officer carried off the flag of the Arabs, after having killed with his own hand the man who carried it.

“I shall have the honour soon to report to your Excellency the results of the movement upon Bayazid.”

A subsequent report, addressed by General Wrangel to Prince Bebutoff, contained some further particulars of the victory, and was to the following effect. Dated August 1 :—“I have the honour to report to your Excellency that early on the 31st of July, the town of Bayazid, and both castles, were taken by the troops under my orders, and that the whole Sandjak of Bayazid, on the Diadin side, is in our hands. We found in Bayazid, three cannon, one colour, large stores of powder, and artillery munitions, more than two and a half million cartridges, 1800 stand of arms, sabres, ten large ammunition waggons filled, medical stores from English and French depots, 1000 chetwerts of wheat, 150 of flour, 300 of rice, 1000 of groats, 160 of barley, 300 puds of butter, 500 of salt, ox hides, and divers articles of clothing for body and feet. Besides this, large quantities of barley and wheat were taken in the camps near Arsab and Musun. In so far as I can collect from documents that have fallen into my hands at Bayazid, from the declarations of the inhabitants, and other reports, it is evident that the Turkish corps had been augmented

to 15,000 men,* and that 13,000 of these took part in the battle on the heights of Tschengl. Of these, only 2000 escaped, and fled in complete confusion towards Van. Three thousand fell in the battle, and the remainder dispersed. All the roads on the Sandjak of Bayazid are strewn with dead, wounded, arms and ammunition thrown away, broken down carts, and waggons laden with cartridges and munitions. In Bayazid we found 300, and in Arsab about 120 wounded, who contrived to escape from the field of battle, but could drag themselves no further. The rout of the Turks is complete; the Bayazid corps no longer exists. Besides the capture of seven field-pieces and twenty colours, prisoners, stores, and the town of Bayazid, the result of the battle has been the submission of the whole Sandjak (government). The neighbouring Kurds have evinced their respect for us, and have promised sheep for feeding our troops. According to reports, Selim Pacha, who commanded and fled, was plundered on the road to Van by his own people. The troops under my command are superabundantly provided for from the stores captured from the Turks, and the ammunition expended in the battle replenished by the same means."

The results of the battle of Bayazid were the occu-

* This is an outrageous instance of Russian exaggeration : 5000 is the actual number, as before stated.—*Translator*.

pation of that town by the Russians, and the total destruction of the commercial relations that existed between Turkey and Persia. The subsequent battle of Kurekdere, and the Kurdish rebellion, can likewise be attributed to that event. The destination of the victorious army of General Wrangel was still unknown in the camp of Hadgi-veli-khoi. A column composed of ten battalions of infantry, a regiment of dragoons and four pieces of artillery, were reported to have advanced against Erzeroum; whilst another account describes the whole army of Erivan as marching on Kars.

In the uncertainty of the movements of the enemy, and fearing that the victorious Erivan corps should reinforce the already powerful army opposed to him, Zarif Mustafa Pacha, the muchir, assembled a grand council of all the generals connected with the Turkish army. A deliberation ensued in which it was determined to attack the enemy, and decide the fate of the campaign in one pitched battle. Had the Muchir acted on this decision at once, the operations of the Turkish army might have been crowned with complete success; but with characteristic hesitation, that commander delayed the momentous day until every advantage inclined towards the enemy. The two days lost by the Muchir witnessed the arrival of the victors of Bayazid in the Russian camp, and the army of Prince Bebutoff was thus

reinforced by a strong body of troops flushed with recent success.

A plan of attack was drawn up by General Guyon and approved of by the Muchir. The 6th of August, was appointed for the day of battle, and every preparation that could lead to success was carried on in the Ottoman camp. In order to deceive the Russian commander, it was circulated amongst the soldiers that a retreat on Kars was to take place. This intelligence was conveyed to Prince Bebutoff by his spies in the Turkish camp, and measures to attack the retreating Turks were adopted by the Russian commander. The 5th of August, discovered both armies prepared for immediate action.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NIGHT MARCH.

ON Saturday, the 5th of August, the army received orders to prepare for a night march. The Pachas and European Generals met once more, and the plan of battle prepared by General Guyon was adopted. The command of the right division was entrusted to Kerim Pacha, that of the left to Vely Pacha. The Muchir was to direct the operations of both. The Russian camp was to be menaced by two detachments of bashi-bazooks, who were to attack it on the two flanks. The heights which covered the left wing were to be attacked, and carried by five battalions of infantry, supported by some howitzers and a force of irregulars. The main strength of the Ottoman army was to attack the Russian centre and right, merely opposing the Russian left wing with cavalry. It was the idea of the chief of the staff, that the Russians would have turned the Turkish left wing with their cavalry; this did not take place: they attacked the right

wing, and turned it with their dragoons. The bashi-bazooks had orders to march at twelve at night, the detachment of five battalions at one o'clock in the morning, and the main body at half-past one. The entire army was to be before the Russian camp at day-break, and to attack it at once. The above was the plan of battle ; but how it was executed we shall see hereafter.

In the course of the afternoon, the Muchir Zarif Mustafa Pacha rode slowly through the Turkish camp at the head of a large staff, and exhorted the soldiers to do their duty, and to die if necessary for their beloved Padishah. The troops replied with acclamations, and appeared rejoiced at the prospect of meeting the enemy. The remainder of the day was passed in preparing for the impending action. As evening drew near the Muchir hesitated, and it was feared at one time that the decisive struggle for which all were longing was again to be delayed. The attack was, however, finally determined on, and the necessary instructions were distributed to the generals of brigade and division. Ammunition was served out to the different regiments, and in the artillery and cavalry camps great activity was displayed. Some of the Pachas despatched their personal effects of value to Kars : this measure, though evincing much prudence, was not calculated to inspire confidence in the minds of the army.

Everybody made, however, certain preparation for the morrow, either in the view of pushing on towards Tiflis or of retreating on Kars. I was sanguine enough to confide in success, and never for a moment doubted of victory. In the course of the day General Guyon, who had certain doubts of his personal fate in the approaching action, requested me to draw up a document in the shape of his last will and testament ; which I effected after a certain fashion : fortunately, this document was not required, or I fear it would not have stood the formal scrutiny of Doctors Commons. The other Europeans settled their affairs in a more simple manner. Arrangements were satisfactorily concluded between friends, by which the survivor was to inherit the personal effects of the other. The servants were in a great state of glee, as prospects of plundering either the foe or their fallen masters presented themselves. The horses received unlimited rations of barley and grass, and must have marvelled at their owners' sudden liberality. In the afternoon the greater part of the army lay down to rest, but were speedily awoke by an awful clap of thunder. Then burst over the encampment a storm of thunder, lightning and hail, such as I had never before witnessed even in these stormy regions. Fears were entertained that the condition of the ground would prevent the march ; but the storm was too intense to

last, and it shortly ceased. To the lightning and the terrible artillery of the heavens succeeded the most perfect calm. At sunset the military bands poured forth their evening salute, and the customary cheers of the soldiers in honour of the Sultan were louder and more spirited than on similar occasions. Presently the moon appeared, and her melancholy beams shone on the plain beyond, which on the morrow was to be the scene of so much carnage. An impressive silence reigned in the encampment until ten o'clock, when dark masses shadowed forth in front of the camp. The regiments were forming, and the hour appointed for the march drew near. The staff had instructions to be prepared to mount at midnight.

Some of the European colony were sleeping, others preparing their arms, and the remainder were assembled in the tent of Iskender Bey, agreeably occupied in conversation or play.

Suddenly an aide-de-camp of General Guyon announced to the company, and to the great disgust of those who were losing, that not a moment was to be lost in mounting. The horses were brought round, final instructions given to the servants; mutual farewells and wishes of good fortune addressed to each other, and then all departed. The moon had now set, but the brilliant firmament afforded sufficient light to point out

the position of the enemy. At one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of August the army marched from its encampment. General Guyon whom I accompanied, mounted and, followed by the staff, rode ahead of the left division, to lead the way. The right Turkish division which occupied the lower camp, and was consequently nearer to the enemy, marched an hour later than the other in order to appear before the Russian camp at the same period.

The army commenced its march in deep silence; nothing was heard but the slow tramp of the infantry and the heavy rumbling of the artillery. The ground was unequal and intercepted by small ravines, which caused some confusion, and forced the artillery to deviate from the strict line. A night march must be characterised by some little disorder, but then proper time should be allowed to make up for the delay which necessarily must occur. On the present occasion this was hardly done, and owing to numerous halts caused by the uncertainty of the way, more than two hours were lost. Unfortunately General Guyon was accompanied by a man bearing a lantern, which more than once misled him: it would have been better to have trusted alone to the stars. The confusion increased in the ranks of the left division, and the Muchir commanded a halt until day-light. This delay was unfortunate, as the right division under Kerim Pacha was in the mean-

while approaching the enemy. The most sanguine now experienced depression, and comprehended the disastrous error that had been committed, in undertaking a night march with the ill-disciplined Turkish soldiers. Gradually day commenced to dawn. The myriads of stars waxed fainter, and the brilliant constellation that hung over the Kara-yoli, the mountain that concealed the Russian encampment, succumbed to the rising sun. The chirping of birds, and the humming of insects concealed in the long grass, filled the air. With the first rays of daylight the troops advanced, and the line of battle thrown into disorder by the night march, was again formed.

The sun had now risen majestically; the whole plain lay open before our eyes, and pitiable in truth was the spectacle it offered. The Russian army whom we were to surprise, was drawn up in order of battle, ready to receive us. The right division of the Turks was before the enemy, and three miles in advance of the left division which should have attacked the foe at the same time. At this sight the left division is ordered to advance rapidly to support the menaced right; skirmishers are sent out, and the Muchir, calmly smoking his chibouk, proceeds to reconnoitre the enemy. A sudden manœuvre now changes the front of the Russian line of battle. The right and the centre of the enemy bears down upon the advanced Turkish

division. The Russian generals perceiving the fatal error committed by the Turks, concentrate all their strength against the Ottoman right wing, with the view of first destroying that force, and then defeating the division commanded by the Muchir. A flash of light issues from the position occupied by the troops of Kerim Pacha. The Russians have now advanced within range, and the Russian batteries reply with concentrated vigour to the artillery of the Turks. The rattle of small arms speedily augments the din of battle, whilst squadrons of Russian dragoons cluster in menacing attitude on the Turkish flanks.

The battle of Kurekdere * had commenced.

* The name of a village occupied by the Russians, from which the battle derived its name.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BATTLE OF KUREKDERE.

THE battle of Kurekdere commenced at half-past five on the morning of Sunday the 6th of August. The Turkish army was composed of the following troops:—

INFANTRY.

12 battalions (Arabistany),	average strength	300 men ...	3,600
20 ditto (Anatolian),	ditto	350 men ...	7,000
16 ditto (Rediff or Militia),	ditto	550 men ...	8,800
2 ditto (Rifles),	ditto	300 men ...	600
			<hr/>
			20,000

CAVALRY.

16 squadrons (Arabistany),	average strength	90 men ...	1,440
16 ditto (Anatolian),	ditto	100 men ...	1,660
6 ditto (Rediff),	ditto	100 men ...	600
			<hr/>
			3,700
13 batteries of 6 pieces each,	78 pieces		1,300

Making a grand total of 25,000 men. To this must be added some 8,000 to 10,000 bashi-bazooks who took no active part in the fight.

The Russian force was much stronger than the Turkish Generals had anticipated, and was composed of the following arms :—

20 battalions infantry, average strength 800 men	16,000
26 squadrons dragoons, ditto 100 men	2,600
8 batteries of 8 pieces each, 64 pieces	800

Total (men) 21,000

With some 4,000 irregulars (cavalry).

The plan of battle projected by General Guyon was marred from the commencement. The two Turkish divisions were to have presented themselves simultaneously before the Russian position, whilst a third Turkish corps was destined to obtain possession of the heights which dominated the Russian encampment. The latter operation was effected in the course of the night, without any resistance being offered on the part of the enemy.

The dawn of day discovered the Russian army drawn up in line of battle, and opposed to the Turkish right wing commanded by Kerim Pacha. The Turkish left wing was advancing rapidly to the scene of action, but an hour's march still separated the two Ottoman corps. The Russians speedily took advantage of the fatal error committed by the Turks in thus having divided their forces; and changing their form of line they bore down upon the corps commanded by Kerim Pacha. The latter

withdrew to a certain distance, and having occupied an elevated position, he prepared to resist the advance of the enemy, and to await the arrival of the Muchir with the remainder of the Turkish army.

The division commanded by Kerim Pacha, was composed of the following troops: 18 battalions of infantry, 7,750 men; 1 battalion of rifles, 300; 14 squadrons of cavalry, 1,260 sabres; and five and-a-half batteries (33 pieces) 500 men, making a total of 9,810 men.

Against this force the Russians directed the entire strength of their centre and left wing. The action commenced with a vigorous cannonade on both sides. The Russian infantry then advanced against the Turkish lines, but withdrew after a smart exchange of fire, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the Russian officers to rally their men. The Russian dragoons had now concentrated on the right flank of the Turks, and with a loud cheer they bore down upon the Ottoman cavalry. The latter, without awaiting the shock, wheeled round and fled, thus leaving the Turkish artillery unprotected. Against the latter, dashed the dragoons; but, received by a terrific shower of grape, they recoiled and fell back, nearly annihilated by the terrible fire they had sustained. In a few minutes the dragoons reformed, and with splendid

discipline, charged again the Turkish artillery. At the same time the Russian guns concentrated their fire against the centre of the Turks, and the infantry likewise advanced once more. The Turkish battalions, which were composed largely of rediff or militia men who now saw fire for the first time, wavered with every fresh discharge of the Russian cannon, and finally, breaking their ranks, fled wildly towards Kars. The Turkish artillery continued almost single-handed to sustain the conflict; a few battalions of infantry alone represented the late Ottoman force, and remained firm on the field of battle.

The second charge of the Russian dragoons was again unsuccessful; but renewing their efforts with noble perseverance, they succeeded, after a third attack, in reaching the Turkish guns. The artillerymen, to their honour, defended their pieces to the last, and fell to a man. The dragoons, mad with drink, then threw themselves blindly against the fire of the remaining battalions of infantry, amidst repeated showers of grape from the Turkish artillery in reserve. The Ottoman cavalry having fled, the dragoons penetrated into the already disbanding battalions, and mowed down the Turks with unrelenting vigour. The batteries of artillery in reserve now fell also into the hands of the enemy, most of the horses having been killed by the fire of the Russian infantry. All the efforts of Kerim Pacha

to rally his men were in vain: the plain was covered with scattered regiments, amongst which the dragoons and Cossacks were committing murderous havoc.

At this moment a terrible cannonade opened on the extreme left of the position. The Turkish left wing had arrived, and though too late to be successful, was bearing down with vigour upon the Russian right. The Russian dragoons were at once recalled from their sanguinary chase, and by their presence speedily turned the tide of victory, which was now favouring the Turks. The advanced Turkish brigade commanded by General Kmeti, threw itself upon the Russian infantry, and caused it to recoil; while the Turkish artillery under Tahir Pacha, swept the whole plain before it, and mowed down the Russians by hundreds. The remaining brigades that composed the Turkish left wing followed up the advantage obtained by Kmeti, and attacked the hesitating Russian infantry with unexpected energy. The Russian infantry regiments opened and retreated in disorder. The devotion of the Russian officers at this period of the action was most praiseworthy, but their bravest efforts could not stem the retreating current.

This was the propitious moment to decide the contest, and General Guyon, assembling all the Turkish cavalry at hand, bore down at the head of 4000 Lancers upon the flying Russians. With a loud shout the

Turkish cavalry broke into a trot, and then into a gallop; General Guyon accompanied by some officers of his staff, riding far ahead of the Turks to encourage them by his personal prowess. On arriving at the top of a small eminence, the cavalry came suddenly on a Russian infantry regiment. At this sight the advanced ranks of the Turks reined in, throwing thereby confusion into the whole body. The Russians opened a harmless fire, and were preparing to retreat, when the dastardly cavalry, utterly panic-stricken, fled in the greatest disorder, leaving General Guyon alone with his personal staff. This misconduct of the cavalry threw the Turkish infantry into disorder, which was increased by a general flight of the bashi-bazooks; who, terrified at the execution of the Russian guns, dashed in wild retreat through the ranks of their countrymen. The flying enemy now reformed, and again advanced to the attack. The helmets of the Russian dragoons glittered in the distance, and the panic engendered by the cavalry spread to the infantry; the whole Turkish left wing disbanded and fled, in a confusion quite indescribable, from the field of action: not two men remained together, and the whole country was dotted with fugitives. The Russian artillery poured in grape upon the latter, whilst the dragoons sabred whole battalions, and made many hundreds of prisoners.

The pursuit was speedily abandoned by the enemy, who had suffered severely in the battle; but had the retreat of the Turks been followed up for another hour, not a single Turkish gun or soldier would have escaped: no resistance would have been offered, for the most complete demoralisation had taken possession of the retreating army. The fugitives made, some for Kars, others to their native homes; whilst many, fatigued to death, threw themselves to sleep on the green grass. The garrison of Kars was under arms, and restored a little order. No one was allowed to enter the town without a pass; and thus pillage, which would otherwise have happened, was prevented.

The Turkish loss on this fatal day amounted to 3500 killed and wounded; 2000 prisoners and 15 cannon fell into the hands of the Russians. Above 6000 men fled to their homes; but many of these subsequently returned to their respective regiments. Hassan Pacha was the only commanding officer who fell on the side of the Turks; Mustapha Pacha, general of brigade, was slightly wounded.

The Russian loss was immense, and is admitted by themselves to have amounted to 3025 killed or wounded. Of this number no less than 111 officers were killed, wounded, or received contusions.

The heavy loss inflicted on the enemy, was mainly

caused by the admirable behaviour of the Turkish artillery. The Turkish infantry in some cases fought manfully; but many of the timid militia regiments fled without sustaining the charge of the Russian dragoons. These regiments were unfortunately mixed up with the Arabistany soldiers, who would have fought well had they not been demoralised by the desertion of their comrades. The Russian infantry displayed no good qualities, nor were the guns of the enemy served with the admirable precision that characterised the practice of the Turkish artillery: the Russian guns did but small execution in comparison with that effected by the Turkish cannon. The victory was unquestionably the result of the brilliant behaviour of the Russian dragoons, whose discipline and bravery overcame every resistance. The conduct of the Russian officers, both infantry and cavalry, was admirable: unlike the Turkish commanders, they were ever in advance of their men, exhorting them by word and example to be firm and steadfast. The Ottoman officers on the contrary, displayed a cowardice above description: the greater part of the colonels and majors had disappeared from the field at the commencement of the action, leaving their unhappy regiments to fight or fly according to their inclinations. Many regiments were led on by subaltern officers, and when these were killed or

disabled, nothing remained for the forsaken soldiers but to effect a retreat. One or two colonels of the Arabistany corps behaved admirably on the field; but these formed an insignificant minority. The European officers displayed great gallantry, and exposed their lives in the most reckless manner, in the vain hope of animating the Turkish battalions with additional vigour. The Turkish cavalry behaved detestably; not once did they cross sabres or resist the onset of the enemy's dragoons. The misconduct of their cavalry, and the irregularity of the night march cost the Turks a defeat, and even the existence of their army.

The first glance I had caught at break of day, was the Turkish right wing drawn up on some heights opposite the enemy's position, and awaiting the arrival of the left wing to commence the action. The Russians had already perceived the forlorn position of the Turkish right wing, and had correctly calculated that two hours must elapse before their left wing could engage. General Prince Bebutoff therefore changed his position, and leaving the defensive one he had adopted, he then concentrated his whole strength, and bore down upon the Turkish right wing, commanded by Kerim Pacha.

At five o'clock the cannonade began, and orders were given to the left wing to hasten forward. As I perceived that at least two hours must pass before

it could take part in the action, I galloped off towards the division of Kerim Pacha, accompanied by Captain Farnese, an officer of the staff. Generals Guyon and Kmeti, were then hastening on the Turkish regiments, who advanced over the ground with rapid steps. As we proceeded in the direction of the fire, it increased, and soon the rattling of musketry announced that the belligerents had come to close quarters. It was now broad daylight, and galloping over the fields of ripening corn trampled down by the soldiery, we came upon some fifty skulkers, who had taken advantage of the night to slip away; some were concealed behind rocks, whilst others were making off in the direction of Kars. This sight was not at all re-assuring. I asked one man why he was running away, to which he naïvely replied; "Because I am afraid."

In about ten minutes more we came upon the scene of action. The cannonade was conducted with stubborn energy on both sides, but the superior number of the enemy's pieces rendered the contest hopeless. The ground here was covered with flying cavalry, who had cowardly given way before the Russian dragoons. In the confusion, I here became separated from Captain Farnese, who subsequently narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the victorious cavalry. We then passed the reserve of redifs or militiamen, who had never been under

fire, and now presented the picture of agonised terror. Hundreds of the Turkish cavalry had retired beyond cannon range, and having taken off their horses' bridles were allowing them to graze. In the meanwhile, their comrades in the infantry were being mowed down by hundreds. Five minutes more brought me to the side of Abdul Kerim Pacha, the reis, or second in command of the army of Anatolia, who commanded this wing. How the soldiers could have fled with the example of this glorious old warrior before them, is beyond my understanding. In the hottest fire, the figure of Kerim Pacha, scarcely bent by age, with his flowing white beard and snowy hair, was seen; in his hand he held an Arab spear, with which he cheered on the men to the fight. But alas! all hope had vanished. The Turkish artillery was slackening its fire, the cavalry had fled, and the Russian guns were committing sad havoc on the Turkish rank and file. At every successive discharge of grape, the Turkish battalions wavered and opened their ranks.

The Turkish left wing was now approaching the field of battle, and Kerim Pacha ordered the reserve of his division to be brought up rapidly, in order to maintain his ground until the arrival of succour. General Colman galloped off to hasten their advance. The redif battalions composing the reserve, no sooner heard that they were to be conducted into close fire,

than they broke their ranks and disbanded; the officers setting the example of flight: a more disgraceful scene could not be imagined. One or two battalions alone stood their ground: I met Colman haranguing the latter, who answered with shouts of "Inshallah!" He ordered the major of one of these battalions (it was a Stamboul redif regiment) to advance; but the major trembled with fear and refused to obey: "I have no orders from my colonel," he replied. "I order you to advance, in the name of the Muchir—coward!" shouted Colman. The men were indignant at the hesitation of their major, and threatened him with their bayonets; he thereupon turned his horse and fled. General Colman then commanded the senior captain to lead on the men, which he did.

An officer, with the exclamation of "Englis Bey," rode up to me and pressed my hand; I recognised the Arab captain with whom I had passed a pleasant evening in the village of Hadgi-veli-khoi, on the occasion of my journey to Anni. The black features of my Arab friend were contracted with rage, and his very articulation was stifled by the vehemence of his fury. This was the officer who had declared that he for one would never risk his existence for an ungrateful country; yet now, armed with a short spear, and with the national war-cry of "Gauga, gauga" on his

lips, he offered a glorious spectacle of the triumph of the heart over the head. We rode on together; a few lusty strides brought the men into fire, and to work they went. It was too late to hope for success, for the Turkish artillery was in the hands of the enemy, and the remaining battalions were wavering. A body of dragoons, visibly inflamed with drink, now dashed into one of the retreating battalions, and in a few moments cut it to pieces: of several hundred men, not above two score escaped. This decided the contest. The remaining battalions, after a fight of two hours and a half, then turned and fled.

A flank battery opened against the battalion I had accompanied, and decimated its ranks; a shell burst over it, and a fragment entered the side of my Arab friend, who rolled dead from his horse. The Russian dragoons reformed their confused ranks and menaced this last battalion with extermination. The few hundred that still remained on the field of battle then also disbanded and fled. The Russian batteries opened a tremendous fire upon the retreating Turks, and with murderous effect: a horrid scene of carnage ensued. The cowardly redifs who had already fled, suffered greatly, as a flank battery poured in upon them. Fortunately at this moment the left Turkish wing appeared and covered the retreat of the flying right. I had turned with the others and galloped in search of my groom, who was in the rear

with a led horse. The ground was covered with wounded and dead, and riderless horses galloping wildly about. I must here pay my tribute to the kind hearts of the Turks: the wounded, as they fell, were instantly seized by a comrade and carried off the ground. The Turkish left wing had now engaged the enemy and driven him back; but the dragoons soon re-established the balance, and after a short conflict the left wing, attacked by the whole Russian force, gave way and fled.

In the commencement of this chapter I have described the operations of that Turkish division, and as I arrived too late to make any particular observations, I will not offer any further remarks. I had approached already to the first band of fugitives, when I saw the whole line break. The same happened on the left wing as on the right; a confused flight, charges of dragoons, and a storm of grape upon the unfortunate Turks. The enemy soon gave up the pursuit, evidently crippled and fatigued: had he continued it for one hour more, the whole Ottoman army, with baggage and cannon, would have fallen into his hands.

For about a distance of three miles, the Russian cavalry pursued the flying Turks, whilst the enemy's artillery swept down the hollows through which the fugitives were retreating. The Russian dragoons were evidently fatigued, and followed up their

success without animation, but with murderous result. As they passed through the line of stragglers, a cut to the right and another to the left were dealt without apparent effort or animosity, but at each blow a Turk fell disabled on the field.

Nothing can be more terrible than a retreat, when the sentiments of exultation, hope, or ambition, which animate the heart in an attack, have entirely forsaken it. The hoarse cries of the wounded, the terror of the fugitives; the sullen roar of cannon followed by the whistling of grape, which ploughed up the earth, and hurled dead to the ground victim after victim: all these circumstances were frightful; and I must confess that the happiest moment of my life was that when the Russian cavalry, collecting its prisoners, withdrew, and when the enemy's artillery, after one terrible but final discharge, slowly returned to its first position. At that moment, I chanced to look behind me towards the site of the Russian encampment, and there witnessed the ascent of three red lights, which struggled with the fierce mid-day sun, and announced to the inhabitants of Gumri the triumph of the Russian army. At the same moment, a Russian band struck up a national air, which was repeated along the whole line; then a succession of loud cheers from the victorious army arose in the air, and filled my heart with rage and fury.

On the road to the camp I encountered General

Kmeti, who was attempting to rally some cavalry in order to escort the remnants of the artillery of his brigade. This he effected with difficulty, so complete was the demoralisation of the Turkish army. In the action, General Kmeti had displayed much judgment and intrepidity, and his brigade had at one moment driven in the Russian right wing, prior to the arrival of the dragoons. General Guyon had made frantic efforts to change the fortune of the day, but had succumbed before the dastardly conduct of the Turkish cavalry. Twice did Guyon charge at the head of the cavalry, and twice was he deserted by those troops : several times in the action he incurred great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy.

All the attempts made by Europeans to encourage the Turkish cavalry proved in vain. A French officer, Captain Belnot, who had served in the Chasseurs d'Afrique, placed himself at the head of a cavalry regiment, and dashed at a body of Russian infantry ; he had penetrated into the lines of the enemy's skirmishers, when, to his consternation, he discovered that the regiment which he imagined was following him had halted a hundred yards to the rear, and that the men were harmlessly discharging their carbines. Captain Belnot at once turned his horse and made his way back through the skirmishers ; who, however, rushed towards him

and attempted to arrest his progress. The scene that ensued was almost ludicrous. A Russian discharged his musket at Captain Belnot, almost at point-blank distance ; but the ball passed harmlessly before the face of the Frenchman, who reined in his horse, and produced his pistols. "Ah ! canaille," roared out the captain, "tu veux donc tirer sur un F-r-r-rançais !" and, pointing the pistol, he blew the man's face to pieces. A second Russian menaced Belnot with his bayonet : "Tiens !" exclaimed the latter, "et toi aussi," and discharging his second pistol, the man rolled over, a corpse. Then, drawing his sabre, Captain Belnot cut his way through the enemy's skirmishers, and, assisted by some European officers who had been spectators of the above scene and had ridden to his rescue, he arrived in safety within the Turkish lines. Perhaps it would have been for the best had poor Belnot fallen on that day, and died the glorious death of a soldier, for a few weeks later he was destined to end his existence at the hands of assassins.

Colonel Gotschiminski, a brave, single-minded Polish officer, who had fought his way in the Caucasian army from the ranks to the epaulettes of a major, displayed great intrepidity in the action. He advanced towards the enemy's skirmishers, and addressing these men in Polish and Russian, he exhorted

them to rally to the cause of liberty and civilisation. It is doubtful if his efforts would have proved successful; but they were cut short by a fragment of a shell which pierced the colonel's throat, and necessitated his removal from the field of battle.

The bashi-bazooks, who had unfortunately been removed from the command of Kmeti, behaved very badly, in consequence of the misconduct of their leaders. Colonel Tevis in vain urged upon the latter to attempt a diversion to the rear of the enemy's camp, which he proposed to commit to the flames. The bashi-bazook chiefs and their commander, Ressoul Pacha, refused to move; and no sooner had the fortune of the day set in to the side of the Russians than, abandoning the position entrusted to them, they fled wildly from the field, spreading a disastrous panic amongst the regiments that composed the regular army.

The battle of Kurekdere commenced at day-break, and at mid-day the Anatolian army was annihilated.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RETREAT ON KARS.

ON arriving at the deserted encampment of Hadji-veli-khoi, I encountered some European officers, who fatigued to death, had thrown themselves on the grass and were conversing on the events of the morning. I came upon the group at the moment that Captain Belnot, with true national cheerfulness, was offering consolation to his comrades. "My dear fellows," he exclaimed, "I assure you it is all for the best : if we had gained to-day's battle we should have probably advanced into Georgia, where we should have been certainly defeated sooner or later. You see what fatiguing work it is, only retreating for a few hours ; therefore picture to yourself the annoyance of riding from beyond Tiflis to Kars without rest, and with no chance of obtaining anything more solid in the stomach than the lance of a Cossack."

The sun was now at its fiercest height, and the heat was intolerable. One by one the Europeans

joined our party, and we determined to remain together until the last had arrived, when we proposed to ride into Kars in a body, and thus be prepared for any event. It was not alone the pursuing Russians that we feared; for it was considered not improbable that the Turkish soldiery, stimulated by their Pachas, might have attempted violence against the Europeans. A continued stream of disbanded troops poured past the little meadow on which we were reposing, and these announced that a body of the enemy had been observed proceeding through Perghet, with the intention of intercepting the road to Kars.

On the strength of this intelligence the more prudent of our party proposed an immediate departure; which was, however, over-ruled by a vast majority: for twenty hours we had tasted neither food nor water, and, regardless of consequences, it was determined to endeavour to obtain both the one and the other. A Hungarian officer possessed some rum and water, Captain Belnot produced a large piece of cold mutton (which, under the circumstances, was worth its weight in emeralds), and in my deserted tent I discovered a *pâté-de-foie-gras*, which had been hoarded up for a great emergency. The servants had long since disappeared, and groups of ill-looking Kurds were prowling about the tents, awaiting our departure to carry off the latter to their

mountain retreats. The above mentioned provisions were distributed in equal proportions amongst the famishing multitude, and speedily disappeared. Much valuable time was lost in endeavouring to open the tin case which contained the treasure of foie-gras, and under the hacks of the assembled sabres it assumed an extraordinary variety of shapes ; on Colonel Tevis devolved the honour of penetrating the hidden treasure, an honour purchased at the expense of his sabre. The tin was rapidly emptied of its contents, and was, doubtless, subsequently carried off in triumph by some of the Kurdish spectators as a marvellous curiosity. After a refreshing rest of another half-hour, General Guyon mounted, and forming in a compact body we continued our fatiguing retreat. The heat of the sun was most intolerable, and myriads of teasing flies that swarmed from the tents, accompanied us to the town.

A living flood of fugitives poured over the whole country. Cavalry were mixed up with infantry, and artillery with the carriages containing the wounded ; whilst officers were mingled with the privates : all were bound for Kars. Many of the poor soldiers, tired to death, threw themselves on the grass and forgot in sleep the disasters of the day. The rumoured pursuit of the enemy proved to be unfounded, and no further opposition was offered to the retreat of the flying Turks. The latter pre-

served their passive indifference, even under the influence of defeat, and scarcely altered their customary slow pace: in fact during the whole day I had not seen a single man *run* away. The confusion increased as we approached the town: strings of ammunition carts drawn by buffaloes, and of unwieldy ambulance wagons, arrested the progress of the fugitives and increased the disorder of the retreat. From fatigue and the heat I, for my own part, felt at times inclined to throw myself from my horse and follow the example of hundreds of the soldiers, who were calmly sleeping on the soft grass; as it was I fell asleep on my horse, which is certainly one of the most unpleasant modes of reposing: a jerk would wake me suddenly and throw me out of balance. A few moments of unrefreshing sleep appeared to be a slumber of years. At length the citadel of Kars appeared in the horizon, and a few hours' ride brought us to its walls.

The town itself was a scene of terrible confusion. The soldiers who had first quitted the field of battle, conveyed to the inhabitants the startling intelligence that the enemy was advancing against Kars, and that the Turkish army had ceased to exist. The population was in despair. Women were wandering wildly about the streets, striving to ascertain the truth; or crowded together, were uttering the most heart-rending lamentations. Many of the families

were quitting the place, and the road to Erzeroum was covered with buffalo carts, laden with women and children, and with fugitives from the army, who considered themselves unsafe in Kars. With a great deal of difficulty I discovered quarters to rest in, and then throwing myself down on a mat, I enjoyed the most delicious sleep, that only terminated late on the following day.

On the morrow of the defeat, the advance of the Russians upon Kars was considered inevitable, and measures were adopted to increase the means of resistance possessed by that town. The appearance only of a Russian column would, I am satisfied, have resulted in the flight of the Turks towards Erzeroum, so complete was the demoralisation of the army. The day passed without witnessing the arrival of the foe, and General Kmeti, assembling some of his old bashi-bazooks, reconnoitred the position of the Russians with a view of fathoming their probable intentions. The Russians were calmly occupied in their former position, and had not yet advanced a single step.

The bazaars were crowded with Cossack horses, Russian epaulets, helmets, and other military trophies, that had been brought in by enterprising bashi-bazooks who had ventured on the scene of battle. The Russians continued to remain inactive, consequently the Turks retook courage; for they

were now exempt from danger for another year: in a few weeks, they said, the cold season would approach and compel the enemy to retire to Gumri. The anarchy and disorganisation at Kars after the defeat can be readily understood. The fortifications were, however, at once enlarged and strengthened, and every measure was taken to resist with success any attack; but as I have before observed, the enemy did not move. His troops were too few in number to occupy Kars and Erzeroum, and he would have exposed his flank and rear to the Batoum army by an advance. The campaign in Asia was in fact virtually at an end.

For the first few days after the battle of Kurekdere we were perfectly lifeless, not knowing what dangers threatened us. We had no news of the Russian divisions at Akhiska and at Erivan, nor of the intentions of General Bebutoff. The Turkish Pachas were terrified to death and incapable of action. No corn was to be found; the horses were without food, and the soldiers were scarcely better off. Rumours were also current that the Russian division of Erivan had marched on Erzeroum, and had taken possession of that town. The disorder in the town however gradually declined, and a week after the defeat that disaster was almost forgotten.

The disgraceful conduct of the superior Turkish

officers was undoubtedly the primary cause of the destruction of the army of Anatolia; but the authorities at Constantinople had committed many serious errors in the plan of action they had traced out for the Asiatic troops. They had strengthened the army of Europe at the expense of the army of Asia; and that I consider a capital error. Assuming that by a withdrawal of force from the Danube the operations of the army under Omar Pacha had been reduced to the defensive, the advantage would still have remained to Turkey, from the successful campaign which could then have been conducted in Georgia. If, on the above assumption, the Russians had been successful in beating back the Turkish army on the Danube, they would most certainly have been checked in their advance by the allied Powers; who would never have tolerated a Russian march on Constantinople. But as matters stand at this very day, a Russian army, if in force, could march over Kars and occupy the whole country as far as Trebizond; and it would be a matter of much difficulty for the allies then to dislodge the enemy.

Another military fault had been committed by extending so vast a line as existed between Batoum and Bayazid. Instead of concentrating the strength of the army at Kars, and merely leaving a small diversionary corps at Batoum, the Turks had a separate army and a separate commander-in-chief at Batoum

and Kars. This was a great mistake; for in the first instance Batoum offered no proper basis of operations for a march on Tiflis, which must be considered the aim of an advance, whilst Kars offered every strategic advantage; besides being much nearer to the capital of Georgia.

Unlimited powers should also have been accorded to the commander-in-chief; who was obliged to refer every petty question to Constantinople. If government have confidence in the commander-in-chief, they can give him the requisite plenitude of power; if not, let him be substituted by a general in whom they have the necessary confidence. The commander-in-chief must have the power of promotion in his hands, and also that of removing many officers who disgrace the service by their ignorance. The medjilis, or council of war, in which every body of any authority has a voice, should be abolished, as secrecy, the great essential in every operation, is thereby rendered impossible. A rigorous discipline should be enforced amongst the superior officers, who have no notions of responsibility. Above all a capable European general, with full powers, should be appointed to the command of the army of Anatolia. It is not alone the interests of England's ally that I regard, but still more the interests of England herself; for Persia and the East must be kept in view.

I must add that a trifling display of energy on the

Georgian frontier, on the part of the allies, would have spared the defeats of Bayazid and Kurekdere: a few thousand men would have been more useful in Armenia than in Gallipoli or Scutari. As a measure of military economy, the allies have committed a sad mistake; for while last year a few thousand soldiers would have turned the above defeats into victories, a whole corps d'armée will now be required, and a regular campaign must be undertaken in Asia.

By this defeat of Kurekdere, Turkey had lost much, but England has lost still more. And on whom lies the blame? A great deal certainly on the Turkish soldiers; but, I declare solemnly, still more on England. The British authorities in London and Constantinople were well aware of the doubtful condition of this army, and had been only lately warned by the defeat of the Batoum corps. The English consular body in this part of Asia had never ceased impressing upon their responsible head the necessity of the presence here of an English or French division, however small its numerical strength: three thousand bayonets would have sufficed, for it was only needed to encourage the Turks by a brilliant example.

The result of the battle of Kurekdere was most pernicious to British influence in the East. The triumph of the Russians circulated with boundless exaggeration through timid Persia, and over the

Caspian steppes, into the barbarous regions of Khiva and Bokhara. The nations and tribes of the East were visibly impressed with the invincibility of the Russians, and prepared, with barbarian craft, to bow down their heads to the rising sun.

CHAPTER XVI.

RUSSIAN VERSION OF THE BATTLE OF KUREKDERE.

I HAVE described in a former chapter the battle of Kurekdere, such as I witnessed it ; but, in order to avoid the odium of partiality, I now offer to the reader the Russian official version of that sanguinary action. The despatch of General Prince Bebutoff is singularly fair and impartial ; though some of the particulars which regard the Turkish army are exaggerated. This despatch was received by General Read, at that time commandant of the Army of the Caucasus, and was transmitted by him to the imperial general at St. Petersburg : it is to the following effect :—

“From my preceding reports, your excellency will have known that, being encamped with the corps under my command near Kurouk-Dar, my object was to bring about a battle with the enemy, who occupied a strongly-entrenched camp at Hadji Valy, at 18 versts from Kars. After long expectation and frequent skirmishes with the Turkish advanced posts,

my hopes have at length been realised, and the Almighty has blessed the arms of his Imperial Majesty.

“On the evening of the 5th of August the spies informed me that the enemy was preparing for a movement, either against our camp or in the direction of Kars. Wishing to be prepared in either event to receive the attack of my adversary, or to receive him in flank should he in fact march upon Kars, I gave orders to raise the camp immediately, and to assemble all the baggage upon one point; for the defence of which I left a battalion of Sappers of the Caucasus, two sotnias of the regiment of Cossacks of the Don, No. 4, and two pieces of cannon; and on the 24th of July, at three o'clock in the morning, I sent by the route of Meschko, in two columns, marching at 200 paces from each other, the entire detachment, composed of 17 battalions of infantry, one battalion of riflemen, 26 squadrons of dragoons, and 6 sotnias of Cossacks, with 56 pieces of cannon.

“In an hour and a half, when day began to break, and when the detachment had hardly reached within four versts of the camp, the advanced patrols gave notice that the enemy was marching upon our camp in considerable force. An inspection of the locality proved that the intimation was correct. Having perceived that the principal masses of the Turks were directed against the left extremity of

the abandoned camp, where they had occupied Mount Kara-Yali (upon which a redoubt was constructed), I immediately made the following dispositions :—

“ I directed against the right flank and the centre of the enemy, giving them orders to make a resolute attack, the brigade of Grenadiers of the Caucasus, consisting of seven battalions, the regiment of Chasseurs of Beleff, and the battalion of Riflemen of the Caucasus, with three batteries, the whole regiment of Dragoons of his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaiévitch, six squadrons of the regiment of Dragoons of his Royal Highness the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, and the combined regiment of Cossacks of the line of Colonel Kamkoff, with two horse batteries of the Don. The rest of the troops, that is to say, the whole regiment of Chasseurs of Toula, two battalions of Riajsk, the regiment of Dragoons of Marshal Prince of Warsaw, three sotnias of the regiment of the Don, No. 20, two and a half foot batteries, and four pieces of horse artillery, were left in reserve until the intentions of the enemy could be more clearly ascertained. Three combined sotnias of Cossacks of the line of General Skobéleff, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, and the brigade of Mussulman cavalry, were posted at the extreme right to watch the enemy.

“ At half-past five in the morning the enemy

opened a strong fire ; the arrangement of his batteries enabled me to perceive that, profiting by his position, his army was drawn up so that his front did not present a right line, and the direction of his wings made an angle with that of the centre. Although such a disposition doubled the difficulties of the attacking column, our brave soldiers of the Caucasus, whom the troops arrived from the interior of Russia would not allow to exceed them in zeal, advanced courageously. The first attack was made by the cavalry, which was at our left wing, and eight pieces of cannon which they captured formed a guarantee of the happy issue of the battle. At the same time the infantry advanced with rapidity. Continually pressed at a distance of three versts, the enemy at last occupied rather an elevated point, upon which he could make a decisive resistance. Upon this height our infantry, having before them 28 battalions, and subjected to the fire of carbines and 20 pieces of cannon, rushed to battle with the Turks hand to hand. This decisive attack was crowned with complete success ; the centre of the enemy was forced, and the whole of his right wing was overthrown.

“ At the same instant the enemy, in considerable force, attacked our right flank. I placed in line two battalions of Toula with a battery, and the militia, and despatched upon the extreme right two batta-

lions of Riajsk, all the cavalry remaining in reserve, twelve pieces of foot artillery and four of horse artillery; leaving in reserve, opposite the height occupied by the enemy, and to cover the moveable hospitals, only two battalions of Toula and a foot battery.

“The direction of the enemy’s columns compelled me to extend to nearly five versts my line of battle, and the troops had hardly occupied the positions assigned to them, when a sharp cannonade commenced from both sides. In replying from the centre to the fire of the Turks, I ordered the right wing to attack at the same time. The operations upon this point were also equally successful; the decisive charges of the cavalry, supported by the infantry, completely frustrated any attempt of the enemy to turn our flank, and compelled him to seek safety in flight, leaving us seven pieces of cannon in our hands.

“The moment I perceived some hesitation in the troops of the enemy directed against our right wing, I at once detached all the battalions of Toula and all the irregular cavalry after the fugitives, so that they might pursue them and take them prisoners.

“When our right wing began its decisive attack, our left wing, stopped during a few minutes by a bold charge of the Turkish cavalry, resumed its movement in advance. The Turks retired precipitately, and

returned to their entrenched camp, which was still at a distance of ten versts from our line.

“The extreme fatigue of the troops, who had been on the watch all night and had gained a victory over a numerous enemy, and the indispensable necessity of giving succour to the wounded, of collecting the dead, and of taking care of the cannon captured from the enemy, did not allow the pursuit to be continued; particularly as the battle, which had commenced at five o'clock in the morning upon a locality destitute of water, and during extreme heat, had lasted till one o'clock in the afternoon. Besides, the enemy beaten in the open field, might yet make strong resistance behind the natural and artificial defences of his entrenched camp; consequently after having allowed the detachment half an hour's repose, I ordered it to resume its former encampment near the village of Kurouk-Dar.

“The trophies of the brilliant victory gained on the 24th of July, near the village of Kurouk-Dar by the detachment of Alexandropol, consist of fifteen pieces of cannon, with six waggons of munitions, two flags, four standards, twenty small standards, a considerable quantity of arms, drums, and musical instruments, and 2018 prisoners; amongst whom are two superior officers, eighty-four subaltern officers, and 1932 men, all of the regular infantry.

“The loss of the enemy is not yet correctly

ascertained, but he left more than 2000 dead upon the field. Such a sanguinary battle, in which nearly 140 pieces of cannon were fired on both sides during four hours, could not fail to occasion us serious losses; particularly as the Turks displayed a resistance such as the oldest of our soldiers had never witnessed from them before. We had four superior officers, seventeen subaltern officers, and 568 men killed; one general, nine superior officers, seventy subaltern officers, and 1831 men wounded. One general, nine superior officers, twenty-nine subaltern officers, and 444 men received contusions. The militia had ten killed, and sixty-one were wounded or received contusions.

“Deploring sincerely the losses experienced by the detachment of Alexandropol, and which it was impossible to avoid with such results, I think it right only to add that, according to the accounts of the prisoners, this detachment had against it 48 battalions of infantry, of from 600 to 700 men each; 16 regiments of regular cavalry, of from 700 to 800 men each; 14,000 bashi-bazooks, not less than 500 Kurds, and 80 pieces of cannon. All these troops were under the command of Muchir Zarif Mustapha Pacha.* On our side there were in line only about 18,000 men.

“I cannot find expressions to give an exact idea

* These numbers, I need scarcely remark, are vastly exaggerated.

of the bravery displayed by the troops of the detachment of Alexandropol, and I know not to whom to give the preference. From the highest to the lowest all fought heroically; the troops of the Caucasus, already tried in many battles, are known to your excellency; and those recently arrived from Russia would not be second to them in anything, and were fully equal to them in every respect. I only think it necessary to say that, by the skill which they displayed, the artillery powerfully contributed to the success of the day.

“Passing now to those who had more particularly distinguished themselves, and who had in a greater degree contributed to the victory, I consider it as a sacred duty to name Aide-de-camp General Bariatinsky, chief of the staff, who rendered me the most essential assistance, who was upon all the most dangerous points of the battle, and who directed in the centre the attack upon which in a great measure the issue of it depended; Lieutenant-General Belirvsky, chief of the infantry, who was at the extremity of our left wing; Lieutenant-General Baggovout, chief of the cavalry, who rode from one wing to the other to direct the charges of that force; Lieutenant-General de Brummer, chief of artillery, who by the judicious concentration of three batteries at the distance of sixty *sagènes* from the enemy, was the principal cause of the defeat of the enemy’s infantry, which

had received at the point of the bayonet one brigade of Grenadiers of the Caucasus ; Major-General Kischinsky, charged with the command of that brigade, who, although seriously wounded in the leg, remained at his post up to the time when the enemy was overthrown ; Major-General de Leyn, commander of the 2nd brigade of the 18th division of infantry, and Count Nierod, of the combined brigade of dragoons, who set the example of intrepidity ; Colonel Koukovsky, commander of the regiment of dragoons of his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaiévitch, and Major-General Prince Tchatchavadzé, commander of the regiment of dragoons of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, the first of whom was wounded, and the second received a serious contusion, and who nevertheless remained at the head of their troops till the end of the battle ; Major-General Tanoutroff, commander of the regiment of dragoons of Marshal Prince of Warsaw ; Colonel Prince Tarkhane Mouravieff, commander of the regiment of dragoons of his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine Nicolaiévitch ; Colonel de Mollar, commander of the regiment of carabineers of his Imperial Highness the Césarévitch Grand Duke, heir to the throne ; Colonel Ganetsky, commander of the regiment of infantry of Riajsk ; Major-General Fetissoff, commander of the regiment of Chasseurs of Toula ; Colonels Otschevsky, Kamkoff,

and Skobéleff, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, respectively charged with the command of the regiment of Chasseurs of Beleff, the combined regiments of Cossacks of the line, and of three combined sotnias of the same Cossacks. They all proved themselves the worthy chiefs of the troops they had in command. The colonel of the corps, Staff-Major Névérovsky, chief of the staff of the corps, who constantly assisted me, and in the preliminary arrangements which preceded the battle, as well as during its progress, aided me very effectively; the colonel of the corps, Staff-Major Kolodéïff, quartermaster-in-chief of the corps, and Lieutenant-General Kovalensky, of the regiment of dragoons of his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaiévitch, superior officer of service, transmitted my orders, and conducted the troops under a murderous fire. I cannot pass over in silence the brilliant feats of arms of the brigade of Mussulman cavalry under the command of Colonel Prince Andronikoff; the militia, composed of the nobles of the districts of Teflis and Gori, under the command of the marshals of the nobility of those districts; Lieutenant Prince Eristoff and secretary of college Prince Baratoff, as well as those of two sotnias of volunteers commanded by Colonel Loris Mélikoff. Full of devotion to the Emperor, and guided by their valiant chiefs, they conducted themselves nobly, and made the greatest number of prisoners.

"I send this report with the flags and standards by Major Alexandrovsky, my aide-de-camp, who particularly distinguished himself during the battle of the 24th of July.

"I have just received from the spies the news that, during last night, the enemy fell back precipitately upon Kars, abandoning almost the whole of his camp; which was occupied this morning by Colonel Loris Mélikoff, with a sotnia of volunteers and the militia formed of the Karapapakhs of the Sandjak of Schouraghel. The same spies affirm that of the whole army of Kars there only remain 20,000 men under arms, and that the rest are disbanded; but this news requires confirmation."

"After having received this report, his majesty the Emperor, in testimony of his great satisfaction at such a brilliant and useful victory, deigned to confer the order of St. Andrew upon General Prince Bebutoff."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEFEATED ARMY.

MINGLED sentiments of shame and dejection weighed down the survivors of Kurekdere. The army of Kars was reduced to a fourth of its former strength, from death and desertion, and the spirits of the troops were utterly prostrated. Had Prince Bebutoff profited by his victory and appeared before Kars, the army would have dispersed over the country and have returned to their homes. For five days in succession the advance of the enemy was awaited; when it became evident that no further operation was intended by the Russians, and that the campaign was virtually at an end.

The demoralisation of the Turkish army decreased after that period, as the confusion attendant upon a defeat made way for order and discipline. Either from motives of policy or from the heavy loss they sustained in the action, the Russians took no advantage of their victory, and remained in the same position they had occupied before the battle.

The Turkish army of Kars in time recovered from the consequences of its late defeat, and from the confusion and disorder into which it had been thrown. Fugitives and deserters were daily brought back in scores by the bashi-bazooks, who scoured the country in pursuit of such. Thanks to the energy of Ibrahim Bey, a renegade Prussian and a talented officer, the artillery was completely reorganised and presented the same strength as before the battle; the fifteen cannon lost being replaced from the reserves. Two days after the battle, the Muchir despatched an officer to the Russian camp requesting that permission might be given to the irregulars to bury the Turkish dead. General Bebutoff instantly assented, and added that the sad task had already been commenced by his orders. On the following day all the Turkish corpses were interred, and prayers pronounced over the far-extending grave by an Imaun, who had been sent for that purpose from the Ottoman camp. General Bebutoff assisted at the melancholy scene, and entered later into a long conversation with the Imaun. "These are the brave fellows that defeated you," he said, pointing to a squadron of dragoons on the ground; and he added, "your infantry fought well, and your artillery is excellent, but the cavalry and your bashi-bazooks are mere rabble."

From some Mussulman irregulars in the Russian

service with whom the Imaun conversed, a curious fact was elicited, the truth of which was latterly confirmed by deserters. On the 4th instant, when General Guyon proposed to the Muchir Zarif Pacha an attack, the Russian force opposed to the Turkish army was but 15,000 strong; but the morrow witnessed the arrival of the victorious Erivan division, which had hastened to Kurekdere, and had raised the Russian force to 21,000 men. Had the Muchir listened to advice, a different result might have crowned the efforts of his army; but he declared the day to be unlucky, and postponed his attack to the 6th instant. On the 5th, information had been conveyed by spies to the Russian commander, that an unusual bustle was perceptible in the Turkish camp, and that the Muchir meditated returning that night to Kars; whereupon General Bebutoff instantly marched off the greater part of his strength towards Perghet, with the intention of falling upon the retiring Turks. Thus at the moment when the Ottoman army commenced its night march upon the Russian camp, the enemy was absent in another position. The advance of the Turks had been perceived by the inhabitants of an Armenian village favourable to Russia, and the beadle of the church instantly conveyed the news to General Bebutoff. That general with his staff had not yet quitted the camp, when the startling intelligence was announced that

the Turkish army was surrounding him. Orders were instantly despatched to Perghet, and the army recalled to the camp. All the baggage and tents were then packed and sent to the rear, the other side of the Arpa-tschai, and daybreak discovered the Russian army in position, with the Turkish right wing facing it, and the left wing some two hours distance behind. What followed has already been described at length in the preceding chapters.

The loss of the two armies had now been ascertained as near as it ever will be. The Turks lost in killed and wounded 3000, and in missing and deserters another 3000. The Russians suffered heavily in killed and wounded, viz., 3600. Their splendid cavalry, which had decided the contest, was entirely cut up: of thirty squadrons of dragoons, numbering 3300 sabres, not the third was now in existence. This accounted for the pursuit having been so early abandoned, and was effected by the Turkish artillery; the whole contest was in fact between the Russian cavalry and the Turkish artillery. Three Russian colonels and a great number of officers were killed. The latter behaved with their usual bravery, and exposed themselves to the hottest fire. The Turkish loss in officers was but trifling, owing to their prudential, but unsoldierly conduct. Hassan Pacha was killed by a bullet, and Mustapha Pacha received a trifling wound.

The Arab officers, of whom there were many in the Ottoman army, displayed great courage, and put to shame their white brethren in arms. Some of the Turkish tents fell into the hands of the enemy ; and many that had been left behind were carried off as booty by the surrounding Kurdish population, who hovered around the hostile armies like birds of prey.

A defeat naturally suggests the enquiry, to whom must the calamity be attributed ? The Muchir and his surrounding Pachas, dreading the verdict which would issue from the authorities at Constantinople, conveniently attempted to escape all censure by throwing the blame on the shoulders of General Guyon. A document was drawn up and signed by the Muchir and his creatures, and forwarded to Stamboul, stating that all blame must be attached to General Guyon, who forced the army to engage and thus led it to its ruin. A more unfounded accusation could not have been made ; but happily it was one that recoiled upon its authors. General Guyon and all the foreign officers attached to the army, were mere ciphers, having the privilege of offering advice, and the annoyance of ever seeing it passed by. Guyon, as head of the staff, drew up the plan of attack, which was excellent ; but all command on the field was forbidden him. When Veli Pacha, the commander of the left wing, hesitated to march,

although the Turkish right wing was actively engaged against the whole force of the enemy, Guyon sent to that officer, impressing upon him the necessity of quickly advancing his division; but Veli Pacha refused to obey any orders which did not emanate from the Muchir and were not written. The greatest blame must be attached to this officer; for had the left wing appeared in its position at the time allotted to it, the issue of the battle might have proved very different: by his dilatory movements the Russians were enabled to fall upon the right wing with their entire force, and having crushed it, to avert the shock of the Turkish left and utterly to crush it in his turn.

To be candid, I fear that Napoleon himself would have proved incapable of coping with the indiscipline and want of soldierly virtues displayed by the Turkish army. The highest officers set the example of cowardice: whenever a battalion advanced under fire, or stood with intrepidity the furious shock of the Russian dragoons, it was some poor lieutenant or captain who cheered on his men, or exhorted them to be steady: the majors and colonels were invisible. As a general rule, the subalterns behaved extremely well, whilst all higher grades, beginning with the Colassi, or captain-adjutant, covered themselves with shame; though there were a few noble exceptions, where colonels displayed the most undoubted courage:

I myself saw several weeping like children when their battalions opened and disbanded ; but the above rule will hold good, and is undeniable. The cavalry behaved disgracefully ; not only did they not once advance, but at the first good round discharge they turned and fled. I have ever insisted on the total inefficiency of this arm of the Turkish service : the men are not exercised, are not properly armed, and in fact are not a whit better than irregular bashi-bazooks drawn up in a line. The artillery behaved brilliantly, and maintained its former reputation for gallantry and discipline : to its well-directed discharges of grape may be attributed the serious loss sustained by the Russians, particularly in cavalry. Tahir Pacha, who was several years at Woolwich, directed this arm. Artillery, if unsupported and unprotected by infantry and cavalry, is helpless ; and it is a matter of surprise that not more than fifteen pieces, most of them disabled, fell into the enemy's hands. The foreign officers behaved well, to a man, and by the gallantry they displayed in the presence of the Turks, nobly avenged themselves for the slights heaped upon them by the latter during the course of the campaign.

With respect to the ambulance arrangements they were miserable : every wounded man was carried off the field by one or two comrades ; consequently, the fighting battalions melted away sensibly. The

medical staff was at a considerable distance from the field of action, and could render no great relief: I believe that but one surgeon dressed the wounded under fire, and he was a Canadian, Dr. Fraser.

The Russians did not behave brilliantly: it was only by exposing their lives to an unusual degree that their officers could draw on the infantry. The artillery was badly directed; the range being generally too low. But the cavalry, that is to say, the Russian dragoons, shone admirably, and by their irresistible courage decided the action. I have failed to comprehend the notorious inefficiency of the Russian cavalry in the Crimea, and the want of ardour they displayed, from the landing of the expedition to the battle of Balaklava. Although whole ranks of the Russian dragoons were mowed down by the Turkish artillery, the remainder closed again without hesitation, and pursued their deadly charges. The Cossacks, like the Turkish bashi-bazooks, proved themselves perfectly harmless.

In concluding my remarks, I will add that, in their present condition, both as regards officers and discipline, the Turkish troops are incapable of fighting in the open field: with the cavalry in its present state it would be folly to risk an action. Behind walls I have no doubt the infantry will fight well; but to draw it from beyond those defences would be leading it to a cruel sacrifice. It excited surprise

in Europe that the army of Anatolia should have behaved so badly, whilst on the Danube the same race of men had displayed unusual bravery; but this mystery is solvable. On the Danube there were many Egyptian troops, who are better disciplined than the Turkish soldiers; and there Omar Pacha had accustomed his men to fire, by leading them into smaller engagements, and thus preparing them for steadiness in a general action. But the great reason is this: on the Danube a soldier commanded; in Anatolia the commander was a civilian.

With the best will in the world, Zarif Pacha could not have been expected to conduct a campaign with success; wanting as he was in every military knowledge: his only hope lay in the Europeans about him; who, although no Napoleons in point of genius, still possessed experience in war. These he slighted; and, towards General Guyon in particular, he openly displayed his animosity. It is to the obstinacy of the Muchir Zarif Pacha that belongs the first blame of the defeat of Kurekdere. Had he employed his time, during the four months that preceded the battle, in exercising his troops in brigade and other great movements, as recommended to him unceasingly by General Brianski, the army would not have made the late wretched display: and had he attacked the enemy at the moment when General Guyon insisted,—that is, before the arrival

of the Bayazid victors—the numerical superiority of the Turks might have triumphed. But, from this measure having been proposed by a European, the Muchir declined to listen to it; and fatally for the Turks, he allowed the corps of Erivan to effect its junction with that of General Bebutoff. As long as the Seraskier of Constantinople has the power to appoint his own creatures to the command of armies, without respect to their competency, so long will Turkish armies be beaten.

It is deplorable that so much treasure should have been wasted on the army of Anatolia, and so much blood shed in order to arrive at the miserable result of Kurekdere. And yet if European troops are not sent to Asia, and Europeans despatched to control the operations of the Turkish Pachas, the same disgraceful scene will be repeated this very year. The Turks, it may be supposed, would feel humiliated by Europeans openly commanding their armies; but such is not the case; the common soldiers and subaltern officers will hail with joy the day when English or French officers appear at their head: the Pachas alone tremble, lest their reign of indolence and peculation should cease.

From the spirit which animates the Turkish army, I am convinced that the Turkish contingent now in course of formation is destined to render great service to the Ottoman empire; though the

fanaticism of a portion of the population will be at first naturally opposed to the measure of Christian officers commanding Mussulman troops. Much, however, will depend on the personal merits of the British officers who have been appointed to the new contingent; and on whom will depend, far more than is imagined, the advancement of civilised ideas, and martial virtues in the Turkish army and nation.

The arrangement stated to have been concluded with the Sublime Porte, in virtue of which the Government of Great Britain has undertaken to subsidise a force of 20,000 Turkish soldiers, is a most judicious step, and one that reflects honour on the minister who projected it; be he Lord Panmure or the Duke of Newcastle. By this measure the British Government will be possessed of an auxiliary corps of numerical importance, which only demands a sound organisation to render great practical service. This Ottoman force will enter into the pay of Great Britain, and be, consequently, totally independent of the pernicious influence of the Seraskierate of Constantinople. With a little skill and judgment, the force in question may be transformed from an armed rabble into an efficient army. The Ottoman army has fallen greatly in the estimation of Europe, since the untoward day of Balaklava; and the censure which should have been

applied alone to the officers, and to the disorganised condition of that army, has been unjustly and indiscriminately heaped upon the unfortunate Turkish soldiers. Every military man who has had opportunities of distinguishing both the good and evil qualities of the Ottoman service, will agree with my opinion that, however inefficient the present Ottoman army may be, no finer material for a good soldier can be offered, than the Turkish private. Alike hardy, frugal, and active, the Turk requires but a good officer and kind treatment, to be metamorphosed into a splendid soldier. He supports with admirable patience the greatest hardships and sufferings; his abstemiousness and contented disposition render his support in the field an easy task; whilst his sturdy frame defies alike the rigour of climate and the fatigues of a campaign. No soldier can surpass the Turk in that passive obedience to his chief which is the foundation of true discipline: he will follow with blind devotion the leader who has conquered his confidence by kind treatment or a brilliant example.

The causes that have largely contributed to weigh down the existing virtuous elements in the Ottoman army, are the corruption and incapacity that prevail amongst its higher ranks; and the disgraceful ignorance which distinguishes its subaltern officers. The Turkish private soldier if

well directed, is capable of great deeds ; but the corps of officers and non-commissioned officers, from the corporal to the Muchir, are alike inefficient and unsusceptible of improvement. Promotion by merit alone, is unheard of in the Ottoman service. The subaltern ranks are filled by the personal slaves or domestics of the pachas ; and such commissions are often the wages of disgrace. Promotion to the superior ranks is obtainable only by bribery or intrigue : the grade of colonel or pacha, is purchased by the highest bidder ; who subsequently recovers the sum he has disbursed, by defrauding his regiment, or robbing the Government. The simplest military rules are ignored by the officers, who are often withdrawn from a civil appointment to occupy a high military position. This was the case with the Commander-in-Chief of the army of Anatolia, Zarif Mustafa Pacha ; whose only apparent qualifications for that responsible post existed in the grateful recollections of the Turkish minister of war, in whose service he had passed his tender years : this commander, to whose discretionary powers were confided the existence of an army and the safety of the Asiatic possessions of the Porte, was a civilian, and totally ignorant of manœuvres or even of the common rules of war.

It is evident that in order to render the Ottoman contingent in question of real practical utility, the

entire corps of officers must in the commencement be composed only of Englishmen. The private soldier will obey, and follow with joy to the field, those officers who have gained his respect, and who have taken a real interest in his welfare. The Indian army has supplied the necessary number of officers; who, from their past intercourse with the native regiments of our Oriental empire, will possess that tact which is indispensable in order to acquire the devotion, and consequently ensure the efficiency of a Turkish army.

The real service which may be derived from a similar corps, depends entirely upon the measures which shall be adopted by the war authorities in this country. The religious habits and customs of the Turkish troops must be respected; and I believe that unless officers selected from the Indian army be charged with its organisation, much treasure will have been wasted, and the hopes of a regeneration of Turkey must be abandoned. By the formation of a properly disciplined corps, whose officers would be appointed according to personal merit, an infusion of healthy blood would be thrown into the Turkish organisation, which would impart fresh vigour to the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and call forth its noblest energies; for these are not dead, but only dormant. Personal bravery will undoubtedly be displayed by every Englishman who

may seek to obtain a commission in the new Turkish contingent; but more than mere animal courage is requisite in order to organise an army, and to elicit confidence and personal devotion from its ranks. The utility or uselessness of the new contingent will depend entirely upon the choice of its officers: with good and experienced commanders, it will render immense service, whilst under young and superficial officers its failure is no less certain.

In the military clubs of London there exist tenfold more than the number of able and efficient soldiers requisite to complete the officers' corps of this Turkish force,—men who have gained a military experience in practical campaigning, and who, in the prime of manhood, only await an opportunity of gaining distinction. It is to be hoped that from these officers will be selected the future commanders of the new contingent; whose efficiency, I repeat, is dependant to so great an extent on the tact of its leaders.

The remarks I have indulged in apply only to regular troops; for with respect to irregular corps, or bashi-bazooks, I am not so sanguine of any favourable result. The corps of bashi-bazooks in course of formation by General Beatson, will, I am confident, terminate in failure. I am, however, convinced that if properly officered and skilfully handled, the Ottoman regular army will still be

enabled to render important service to this country; and that at the conclusion of a peace which will secure future independence to the Porte, the Turkish soldier will have retrieved his reputation, and have merited alike the esteem of his country and of Europe.

A letter I received from Erzeroum stated that, since the defeat of the Turkish troops at Bayazid, the road to Persia was insecure. The different consular Tartars from Tabrez were delayed twelve days on the frontier, and had to be protected by a considerable escort. Many dead bodies on the road testified to the brutality of the Kurdish freebooters; and an immense caravan of more than 2000 horses was waiting at Erzeroum, until the roads became less infested. This caravan subsequently fell into the hands of the Russians. From Erzeroum to Trebizond the roads were equally dangerous, and not a week passed without some deed of rapine and bloodshed being chronicled.

The defeated corps of Bayazid which had fled to Van, had received orders to proceed to Erzeroum.

On the 17th of August, the Russians broke up their encampment at Kurekdere, and retired to the fortress of Gumri. The retreat of the enemy was ascribed to various reasons: probably the stench of the dead bodies drove him from his position. On the late site of the Russian encampment, a large quantity of wheat and barley was found.

The Turkish bashi-bazooks, with four regiments of regular cavalry, fell upon the extreme rear of the Russian army, but only captured a few carts laden with tents. General Kmeti, with some other officers, followed on the track of the enemy in order if possible to sound his intentions.

Four Russian battalions of infantry with eight cannon were sent against Schamyl, who had advanced in the direction of Tiflis. After having assassinated some unfortunate children and women, and carried away the inhabitants of a Georgian village, the *heroic* mountaineers retired to their hilly fastnesses.

The retreat of the Russians to Gumri, although inevitable, was considered as a victory in Kars and Erzeroum ; where cannon were fired, and the population gave vent to their joy in their customary manner, by firing off guns and pistols.

The Muchir despatched an aide-de-camp to Constantinople to exaggerate the importance of this event, but was not successful in blinding the eyes of the Imperial Ministers. In a few weeks he was removed from his command, and ordered to proceed to Stamboul to explain his past conduct.

Thus terminated the campaign in Asia, of the year 1854.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SUMMER TRAVELLING IN ASIA.

WITH the retreat of the Russians to Gumri the campaign concluded; therefore I prepared to take my departure from Kars, and to bid farewell to the ill-fated army whose evil days I had shared. I must confess that I was sick at heart, and delighted to quit the regions where I had resided for the past eight months; and as the day for my departure approached, I experienced feelings of unqualified pleasure, which were increased by the freedom I gave to the long stifled thoughts of home. The operations of even the most unfortunate army are, if we consult history, often rewarded with transient success; but in Asia the unhappy Turkish troops had passed successively through famine and disease, to reap the bitter fruits of defeat and disgrace.

On the 13th of August I left Kars, in company with Colonel Tevis and Dr. Fraser. After a farewell supper with General Guyon, we mounted and proceeded towards Erzeroum. The great heat of the

day had decided us to travel in the night, and repose during the mid-day hours; this plan we however abandoned after a trial of two nights, as we found it more fatiguing than travelling by day. After a five days' journey we arrived in Erzeroum, where we remained a week. The latter town, which during my former residence was buried in snow, was now smothered in dust, and I scarcely know to which annoyance to accord the preference.

In Erzeroum there reigned even a greater dejection than in Kars; for the advance of the Russians into Bayazid had completely destroyed the commercial relations existing between Turkey and Persia, and on the activity of which depended the prosperity of Erzeroum. The Kurdish rebellion was moreover swelling its proportions, and the inhabitants were uneasy, as to their dangerous neighbours. The villages surrounding Erzeroum were infested with freebooters, and on the roads to Trebizond the Lazes gave free vent to their murderous propensities: during our short sojourn at Erzeroum, several murders were committed in that neighbourhood, and caravans were rifled in the most unceremonious manner. The Pacha of Erzeroum had lost all energy, and took no effectual steps to arrest the spreading demoralisation of the country.

We quitted Erzeroum on the 23rd of August, and

forming as we did, including servants, a well-armed body of ten, we were under no serious apprehension of the Lazes. These scoundrels, the inhabitants of Lazistan, a region comprising the Pachalic of Trebizond, bear a well-merited character for cruelty, cowardice, and theft. Towards Europeans they generally display considerable respect; which may be attributed either to the influence of revolvers, or to the pertinacity of the Frank consuls, who allow few offences against their countrymen to pass over unpunished. The poor peasants and traders they pillage without compunction, and often aggravate the offence with unnecessary cruelty and bloodshed.

I could not recognise in the smiling plains and mountains the spot where I had suffered so much in the winter journey to Erzeroum. The scenery along the track was most picturesque; and our eyes, unaccustomed to trees, revelled in the marvellous foliage of the forests that covered the mountains near Trebizond. The journey was a most agreeable one, and, as we consulted our comfort, by no means fatiguing. At daylight we broke up from the Khan where we had passed the night, and rode on till midday, when we halted at the first village that presented itself. There we breakfasted, and remained until the heat of the day had subsided, when we proceeded on our journey. A shady spot, or a meadow, washed by one of the many swift rolling

streams that accompanied our track, was certain to tempt us to repose, and another halt took place. The horses were picquetted and allowed to graze, while their riders either bathed in the delicious clear water, or started on sporting expeditions. Wild pigeons abounded in thousands along the road, and water-fowl were equally numerous. When the shades of evening warned us to proceed, we remounted our refreshed horses, and pushed on briskly; lights in the distance betrayed some half-concealed village or public khan, and there we took refuge for the night.

One day, after having wasted the afternoon alternately in shooting and sleeping, we discovered that time had fled much quicker than we had anticipated, and that night was drawing near; we therefore at once set off, and rode on quickly for five hours. No village presented itself, and the horses were naturally becoming fatigued; gradually the darkness increased, and we found ourselves wandering along an unknown country in total darkness. At length, towards midnight, we perceived some lights shining in the distance, and, making our way towards this beacon, we came upon a large caravan of Persian traders; they had unpacked their horses and constructed a large square of their merchandise; inside this defence were the horses and their owners. At our approach the human inhabitants of the

square set up a terrific shout of defiance; they had evidently taken us for Lazes, to whom it would be judicious to signify that a warm reception was prepared for any predatory intentions. We explained to the alarmed Persians that we were only unfortunate travellers who had lost our way and were benighted, and that the smallest commissariat assistance would be gratefully received by our famished bodies. The merchants, with great liberality, offered us some bread, on which we made a frugal meal.

It appeared, from the information of the Persians, that we had passed by a bridge in the darkness, which we should have crossed, and that we were about three hours' distance from the khan where we had proposed to pass the night. This building, moreover, was on the other side of the water, and it would have been the height of imprudence to have attempted to swim the river in the dark accompanied with our baggage horse; we therefore determined on passing the night on this spot, and at once proceeded to kindle a splendid bivouack fire on the banks of the Tourak. For precaution sake we decided that each should take his turn to watch; or rather we agreed to do so, whilst the remainder slept. Colonel Tevis commenced the round, and after a watch of two hours he awoke Dr. Fraser, who was to have aroused me in my turn.

After a conscientious vigilance of ten minutes, Fraser dropped off into a sound sleep, and it was long after daylight when we opened our eyes and discovered the insecure condition in which we had passed the night.

This portion of the country, we subsequently learnt—though at the time we were in a happy state of ignorance of its true reputation—was a favourite resort of the Lazes; and here was enacted, a fortnight later, the sanguinary drama to which I have already alluded. Captain Belnot (the name will be remembered by my readers) was returning to Constantinople from Kars, and in passing by the banks of the river opposite to where we had bivouacked, he encountered a body of Lazes, who barred his progress. The servants of the gallant Frenchman turned back and fled, leaving their master alone to extricate himself from the danger which menaced him. With characteristic rashness Captain Belnot drew his pistols and fired at the Lazes; they returned the fire and severely wounded the poor Frenchman, who finding himself growing weak from the loss of blood, turned his horse in the direction of the neighbouring khan. There he took refuge, and for some time resisted the Lazes, who had followed in close pursuit; but numbers at length prevailed, and hurling their wounded victim to the ground, these savages cut

his throat from ear to ear, and brutally mangled the corpse.

We remained at Baibout a day, and after that welcome repose proceeded in easy stages towards Trebizond. The road now led through a fertile and well-cultivated country. For two days we wandered among luxuriant orchards, which sheltered our heads from the fierce sun of August, whilst swift flowing streams gushed across our path at every step, and added to the beauty of the scenery. We left Gumish-Khaneh, a town famous for its silver mines and orchards, to our left, and ascending a range of hills covered with magnificent forest, we gradually approached our destination. The last day of our journey we looked forward to with great eagerness, for a hill that dominates Trebizond presents a splendid panorama of the Black Sea, which there breaks unexpectedly on the vision. It was with a singular feeling of excitement that we ascended this hill, and then gazed down on the scene below. The Euxine lay perfectly calm at our feet; scarcely a ripple agitated its blue waters, which appeared to lose themselves in the horizon amongst the hazy blue sky. A few white sails floated indolently in the roadstead of Trebizond, whilst the white houses of the town sparkled in the sun, from amidst the rich foliage of the fruit-trees that surrounded them.

If after an eight months' absence from the sea, we experienced so great a pleasure in beholding it once more, how shall I describe the sensation of the Arab grooms, who had never cast eyes before on so vast an expanse of water? The latter one and all refused to believe its nature, and stoutly declared it to be the atmosphere: the boats rather puzzled their ingenious minds, but were presumed to be birds. Nothing less than a practical demonstration would convince the Sais of the reality of the sea; so that on our arrival in the town their first visit was to the sea-shore, from whence they returned with astonished faces and endless "Mashallahs!"

We arrived in the suburbs of Trebizond late in the afternoon of the 29th of August, and lost no time in proceeding through the narrow streets, shaded with gigantic fig and pear trees, to the hotel where I had resided on my first visit to Trebizond. Old Antonio with his jovial laugh and wonderful idiom welcomed us with enthusiasm, and stern "Teresa" even allowed a grim smile to play upon her matronly lips. Antonio conducted me to the chamber I had occupied during my previous visit, and pointed to the bed on which I had rolled in feverish restlessness. I enquired after the quiet gentlemanly Italian doctor, who had been so anxious to bleed me, and listened with exemplary patience to a long story in which Antonio described the mis-

fortunes that had befallen that amiable physician. He had amassed it appeared a considerable fortune during his long professional residence in Trebizond, but had conceived an unfortunate idea of doubling his capital by a commercial speculation, and with that view he established a glass manufactory in the town. He however totally failed to convince the Turks of the necessity of purchasing glass, and after having sunk the greater portion of his capital, he was compelled to abandon his unfortunate enterprise.

I now found myself once again in a civilised town, and perfectly appreciated the delightful change. At night I experienced quite a novel sensation in reposing between clean white sheets and reclining on a soft pillow ; but I was speedily doomed to abandon all ideas of pleasant dreams or undisturbed sleep, and before the night was over I heartily wished myself once more on the hard ground of the camp of Hadgi-veli-khoi. Two days before my arrival in Trebizond, cholera had broken out suddenly in the town, and had taken off several victims in rapid succession. In the adjoining house, the room that touched my chamber was occupied by a poor maiden of eighteen, who had been taken ill late in the evening. A doctor was sent for, who proclaimed the disease to be cholera, and actually proceeded to bleed his patient. The unfortunate girl became worse and worse, and

filled the room with groans of agony ; while the family had assembled around the bed-side of the patient, and were reciting prayers in Greek, and uttering loud lamentations. Towards morning a terrible cry of distress proceeded from the house, and announced the death of the poor girl. The parents and the brother and sister of the deceased continued to utter the most heartrending cries throughout the night, which effectually checked any desire to sleep on my part.

On the following day a steamer arrived from Constantinople having on board General Williams, who was proceeding to Erzeroum and Kars, in the capacity of British Commissioner to the army of Anatolia, accompanied by his suite. Had that able officer received his appointment prior to the defeat of Kurekdere, how far more advantageous would it have been for the interests alike of the Ottoman Empire and of England ! I have alluded in a preceding page to the great service rendered by General Williams in establishing order and discipline amongst the demoralised Turkish troops, and in defeating the intrigues and glaring peculations of the pachas. A more excellent appointment could not have been made by the British Government than that of General Williams : to a complete knowledge of the Turkish language he unites a perfect appreciation of both the good and the evil

characteristics of the Ottoman race. General Williams is, moreover, endowed with that winning simplicity of manner and conciliating temper that so prominently distinguished "good" General Strangways, and poor Lord Raglan: two of the greatest favourites of the British army, and the most beloved of the many lamented victims of the Crimean war.

We remained several days at Trebizond, in order to afford repose to the horses which I had decided on taking with me to Constantinople. I disposed of the two baggage animals in the bazaar of Trebizond, and in due time shipped the three saddle horses on board of a steamer bound for Stamboul. On the 6th of September we bade farewell to Trebizond, and slowly steamed away from the shores of Asia. We had rather a tempestuous voyage, which greatly interfered with the comfort of the many passengers on board. These consisted mainly of Circassian slave-dealers and their human merchandise. These slave-dealers contrived to evade the vigilance of the British Consular agents (who, in obedience to the instructions of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, laboured to put a stop to this nefarious traffic) by representing themselves to the steam-packet agents as fathers of families proceeding to Stamboul to settle in that town. The *families* are composed of children of all ages; and in the present instance there were some

fifty half-starved dirty boys and girls, all more or less ill-favoured, who in good time would find their way into the slave-market of Constantinople. The dealers and their wares occupied the deck of the steamer; they subsisted entirely on melons and bread, which sufficiently explained the famished appearance of the unfortunate creatures. It is not surprising that the latter should sigh for the appearance of a purchaser, who introduces them to a comfortable home and to a land of comparative plenty.

At Sinope we stopped for a short time, and I landed with Dr. Fraser to witness the improvements that I presumed had been made since the disaster of the preceding year. Everything, however, had remained in its destroyed shape, and the damage inflicted by the Russian broadsides remained unrepaired. The Turkish governor kindly showed us over the new defensive works that had been constructed, and invited us to lunch with him. This officer, who spoke French perfectly, had previously commanded one of the large castles of the Dardanelles. He kindly provided Dr. Fraser and myself with fowling-pieces, and despatched half-a-dozen soldiers to beat up the game of all species, which abounds in the neighbourhood of Sinope. The day was unfortunately awfully warm, and the soldiers by no means appeared to relish performing the duty

of dogs under so fierce a sun, consequently we abandoned the project, and indulged in the more seasonable pastime of a bath. We were then conveyed back to the steamer in the state barge of the governor, who had accepted an invitation to dine with me. This barge was propelled by twelve soldiers, all utterly incapable of rowing; so after having indulged in "crab catching" and other aquatic eccentricities, they nearly contrived to sink their confiding freight by running the boat into the paddles of the steamer. Fortunately, we arrived without accident; but the barge on its return in the evening was capsised, and one of the unskilful crew narrowly escaped a watery grave.

On the morning of the 10th of September, we came in view of the white castles of the Bosphorus, and in a few hours we were tranquilly steaming past the pleasant villages of Buyukdere and Therapia. The Bosphorus was filled with transport vessels bearing the Allied flags, and awaiting intelligence of the safe disembarkation of the expedition to the Crimea; and the greatest activity was perceptible in all the government dockyards and arsenals. As we approached the Golden Horn, and beheld the vast and beautiful panorama of Constantinople, the appearance of the tricolor flag floating from barracks and public buildings,

and the red-trowsered sentries, significantly announced the change that had come over the metropolis of Turkey within the past few months. A marvellous alteration had indeed taken place in Constantinople since that gloomy winter morning on which I had embarked for Asia: I scarcely recognised in the streets, now thronged by red-coated or red-trowsered pedestrians, that filthy, basely populated accumulation of pride, ignorance, misery and venality known as the City of the Sultan.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONSTANTINOPLE TO KALAMITA BAY.

IN the hotels, in the coffee-houses, on the Exchange, even in the very streets of Constantinople, there reigned about the time I arrived, an excitement and anxiety perfectly indescribable. The Allied expedition had sailed from Varna, and was on the eve of landing in the Crimea. Deep and various were the feelings that agitated the hearts of those who conversed on this one and only topic of conversation. The gallant but sickly British officers who thronged the hotels, and whose pale emaciated frames betrayed a recent escape from the relentless grasp of fever or cholera, lamented bitterly the fate that had separated them from their regiments at so momentous and glorious a period. The Turks in solemn language speculated on the result of the expedition, and supplicated Allah to bestow victory on the Allies. The mongrel population of Pera, sordid and heartless, alone remained indifferent to passing events ; for the success or defeat of the Allies,

would not materially interfere with their petty trading; why therefore should they trouble themselves about the matter! One portion of the population alone displayed open animosity to the Allies; and these were the Greeks, who from the humble servant to the millionaire banker, one and all, prayed for the discomfiture of the expedition, and for the triumph of "Holy Russia."

I experienced considerable difficulty on my arrival in finding quarters, so filled were the hotels with invalided officers of the two nations. My application to the spacious Hôtel d'Angleterre was unsuccessful; probably because my weather-beaten costume was not of a nature to satisfy the staff of the polite, amiable and disinterested Mr. Missiris of my financial resources. I was, however, more fortunate at the Hôtel de Bysance, where I obtained a garret; with, however, a compensating panorama of the lovely Golden Horn.

I had been calmly weighing in my mind during my passage from Trebizond, the superior claims of the Trieste or the Marseilles routes, and had determined on availing myself of the former, with the view of visiting Vienna on my way home to England. The conversation at the hotel, however, completely spoilt my well-matured plans, and before the day was over I had almost made up my mind to proceed to the Crimea previous to returning home. I

certainly shared the opinion of all the British and French colony at Constantinople, who never doubted that a campaign of two months' duration would witness the fall of Sebastopol, and the subjugation of the Crimea. I reflected that two months more or less would not interfere with my preconceived plans; but then caution whispered to me that, having escaped the hardships and trials of Asia, it would be tempting fortune to incur fresh evils in the Crimea. The stifling heat of the night and the incessant attentions of the mosquitos banished sleep from my eyes, and I had ample leisure to conclude my future arrangements; so after deep reflection, which might have been spared, I naturally determined upon following the bent of my inclination which pointed to the Crimea.

The following morning I engaged a caïk, to take me to the English embassy at Therapia, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was kind enough to give me an order of passage by the first steamer proceeding to the expedition. His lordship likewise obligingly offered me a letter of introduction to Lord Raglan, which subsequently proved of great service to me. I proceeded at once with the order to Admiral Boxer, who was at that time superintending the transport service at Constantinople. Much has been written and spoken of the roughness of manner and language of the gallant old sailor, who now

reposes under the sod of Balaklava, and many are the capital stories related of his conversations with the amiable amateurs who at times interfered with his business arrangements. For my own part I met with the greatest civility from Admiral Boxer, notwithstanding the unsuitable hour at which I called upon him in order to ascertain the name of the steamer that was to leave for the Crimea. On arriving at the residence of the Admiral, he was at dinner, and I fully expected to be stormed at for interrupting him at so unseasonable a moment; but with a politeness that I for one could not have imitated, he rose from the table without a frown, gave me a letter for the Captain of the "Banshee," and wished me a pleasant voyage.

The "Banshee" was under orders to leave on the following morning, so that I had but little time to make my campaigning arrangements. I, however, ordered a large supply of provisions to be packed by Stampa, and purchased a little French tent that stood temptingly in a shop in Pera. A camp bedstead that broke down the first night I used it, was the sole luxury I allowed myself over and above the stores of Mr. Stampa.

On the 12th of September, I left Constantinople and entered the Euxine, for the second, and let me hope for the last time, on board of Her Majesty's despatch steamer "Banshee;" a vessel enjoying

the double reputation of being one of our swiftest steamers, and of being commanded by one of the most agreeable men it has been my lot to encounter.

The "Banshee's" first course was directed to Varna and Baltschick; but no traces of the fleets being perceptible, she steamed according to her instructions to the general rendezvous, the Ilian Adasi, or Serpent Isle.

We consequently left Varna in the distance, and having passed successively the desolate-looking cliffs of Bulgaria, and the fatal shores of the Dobrutscha, arrived towards morning at the rendezvous. At the Serpent Isle not a sail was to be seen: the fleets had already left for the Crimea. The "Banshee" then shaped her course towards Sebastopol. Hitherto the wind and sea had been boisterous, but during the remainder of the journey we had a calm, and enjoyed as pleasant a voyage as twelve knots an hour and a quiet sea can afford. In the afternoon we came on two French transports (one laden with horses), which had fallen out of convoy and were beating up the coast. At dusk we found ourselves in the midst of some French frigates, and two hours later we descried the whole Allied fleets in the bay of Kalamita. A grander sight was never seen at sea.

A line of lights extended along the whole coast, and when, as signal, the "Banshee" burned a blue light,

the effect was magnificent. The bulwarks of Old England, surrounded by an imposing number of transports, loomed dimly in the distance. In our immediate vicinity a formidable row of line-of-battle ships, including the flag-ship "Britannia," towered proudly in all the majesty of their proportions; the largest spar and the tiniest rope alike standing out from the dark background. The blue light extinguished, all sank again into the darkness. Who would then have guessed, amidst the surrounding tranquillity, that here was assembled the most imposing armada that ever cleft the seas, bearing the strength, the pride, and the hopes of three Empires?

This was on the 14th of September, and on the same day the whole of the English infantry were landed. The military and naval authorities are entitled to the highest praise for the rapid execution of this movement. No opposition was made to the landing, and, with the exception of a few Cossacks, no enemy was in sight. The landing point occupies a part of the coast flanked by the sea and by the Salt Lake of Kamishli; the intermediate distance extending some three hundred yards. Here were bivouacked the greater portion of the infantry and cavalry. To the right, in the direction of the Old Fort, rose an elevated plain, on which was posted the remainder of the British army. Here also Lord Raglan had established his quarters. On the

same plain, the French army was encamped, having to its left the Turkish corps; the English light division being in advance.

On the 15th, at day-break, preparations to land the cavalry and artillery were commenced, but were delayed in consequence of the violence of the surf. Towards mid-day this impediment diminished, and the bay soon presented a scene of great activity. Barges laden with horses and artillery lined the whole beach, lazily waiting to be borne by the surf on to the shore. Smaller boats were hovering around them, guiding their progress, lest they should be washed beam-ends on the beach. This caution was necessary, for two or three battered hulks on shore testified to the violence of the surf. Smart men-of-war boats crossing to and from the flag-ship added to the gaiety of the scene, whilst the forest of transport ships and steamers, transported one in imagination far from the Euxine to smoky London and the East India Docks. The *Britannia* was anchored at a considerable distance from the beach, surrounded by the *Retribution*, the *Vesuvius*, and other steamers; the *Agamemnon*, bearing the flag of the gallant Sir Edmund Lyons, lay on the contrary, close to the shore. The *Vesuvius* and another steamer had just returned from an excursion along the coast; and according to their report, the Russians had established two camps, one composed of 5000,

the other of 10,000 men, between this and Sebastopol. The steamers had amused themselves with shelling the tents, which soon compelled the troops to retreat to a safe distance.

I had intended landing direct from one of the steamer's boats, but deemed it more prudent, for my baggage sake, to give up the attempt on examining the state of the surf; I was therefore rowed to the first barge that presented itself and jumped in. On the barge were two guns with their respective horses and drivers. I had already commenced congratulating myself on a speedy arrival on shore, when a driver with a very long face confided to me that they had been beating about ever since daylight without getting properly in. I soon perceived that my evil star had conducted me to one of the most unmanageable and ill-conditioned barges afloat; for besides demonstrating a decided preference to run ashore on its beam-ends, this unlucky barge possessed an equally perverse habit of dragging its anchor. The consequence of these united disadvantages was, that no sooner had we made a little way in the surf than, in order not to be beaten to pieces, she was forcibly dragged back by smaller boats. Some three hours thus elapsed before a fortunate lull permitted us to land; but in the meanwhile I reaped the advantage of seeing well the whole process of disembarking, as effected by more fortunate

barges. Each barge, towed by a man-of-war's boat, on approaching the shore, dropped anchor and allowed itself to be washed forward by the surf; the rope being very gradually let out, in order that the barge might approach stern-forward. At the moment she appeared about to strike, a dozen sailors, chiefly, if not all, crews of merchantmen, dashed into the water, and seizing her ropes, dragged her high up on the beach, with all the strange cries and noisy energy peculiar to sailors on shore. A flap hanging on to the stern then formed a platform, over which the cannon were landed and the horses coaxed to pass. To land the latter was rather a difficult task, for the poor animals, notwithstanding their long imprisonment on board ship, one and all declined to walk the plank, although terra firma was the reward; but by dint of pushing and pulling, the sailors managed to land the horses. This part of the programme seemed to afford them immense delight; it certainly enabled them to display that equestrian science and profound knowledge of horse-flesh which, as everybody well knows, is a characteristic of the naval profession. If now and then a horse rolled off the plank into the water, it was unfortunate; but this certainly did not occur more than three times out of six, and the only result was a ducking for man and horse, which did neither any harm: the horse would have a comfortable roll

on the dry sand and take his place in the rank. But if, as sometimes would occur, a stiff artilleryman with a straggling moustache, missed his footing and fell plump into the water, then matters became tragic ; the surrounding sailors, and even his comrades, burst out into that delicate and pleasant laugh peculiar to Englishmen, whilst the sympathising crowd on the beach, composed of English, French, and native Tartars, re-echoed the jeer and then welcomed the poor wight to Russian ground.'

If the sea presented a lively scene, it was certainly surpassed on the land. The small breadth of space was crowded by a busy throng. Artillerymen collecting their horses ; officers cantering up and down inspecting the landing ; foot-soldiers going to fetch water—all were mixed up with a miscellaneous crowd of lookers-on. Now, a troop of horses passed to collect forage, or a body of native Algerians returning from a successful razzia of cattle and odd-looking country carts. The beach was lined with bathers, mixed up in communistic equality, the dashing huzzar breasting the same wave as the mild-looking man of the line or a small drummer-boy. Then on shore were groups of French soldiers calmly enjoying the animated scene, and ejaculating a good-humoured "*sacré*," when jostled by a too energetic sailor. Some of the soldiers were endeavouring to open a conversation with the natives, whom this

unexpected invasion had surprised ; and although the conversations in themselves were very limited, both in extent and intelligence, they were successful in making both parties laugh and shake hands.

The native Tartar—of course not a single Russian, the dominant race, dared to show himself—has much resemblance to the Turk : his religion, language, and mental development are the same ; his costume alone is different. The Russians have done their utmost to transform him into a Russian peasant ; the turban and flowing garment have been proscribed, and the brimless lambskin hat and shapeless gown substituted ; but through this disguise the Tartar face is recognisable. The arrival of the Allies has given them undoubted satisfaction, which they openly expressed. One man came from his village to state that two Russian families of great wealth were preparing to leave, and demanded a few soldiers to be sent to arrest them. The soldiers and sailors were on the best of terms with them, as I have already observed. Probably from ignorance of their family names, and fearful that this trifling circumstance might interrupt their cordiality, the inhabitants were indiscriminately christened by the soldiers with the name of Joey ; consequently if a slow native Tartar was in danger of being run over by a hasty dragoon, he was requested to “ Look out for yourself, Joey ; ” and did another hesitate to

take British coin in payment for an unripe melon, he encountered the reproach of "You are a fool, Joey." Joey Tartar had therefore become as historical a character as Johnny Frenchman or John Turk.

The landing continued as long as any daylight was visible; and the 15th of September closed with a magnificent sunset. Even after night had set in, the animation of the scene continued: horses that had arrived late had to be picketed, and the men, many of whom had been on the water since morning, were preparing their meals. For my own part my feelings were peculiar. After an exile of eight months with the army of Asia, I was now in the midst of Englishmen, with nothing around me spoken but English, and the bands playing old familiar tunes; and when I lay down to rest, I felt that night as if I was in a roomy four-poster, sleeping in glorious, comfortable Old England. And who would have thought, amidst the sangfroid with which the landing took place, hearing the merry careless laughter about him, that we were now in the Crimea, on Russian territory, and engaged in one of the greatest military enterprises ever undertaken—the destruction of Sebastopol and the humiliation of Russia!

How many, alas! of the gallant heroes whose hearts were now beating high at the prospect of

engaging with the enemy, were destined to shed their life's blood without witnessing the success on which they had staked their existence. Of the fifty thousand men who were then reposing on the hard ground of the Crimea, not one doubted of the speedy fall of Sebastopol ; and (oh, vanity of human foresight !) not one anticipated the delayed triumph, the murderous battles, or the fearful sufferings of the winter, that the Allied armies were doomed to endure.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION.

I WILL not trespass on the patience of the reader by recording my experience of the events that occurred in the Crimea up to the end of last November, the period that I quitted its shores. The flank march, the famous three battles, and the unsuccessful bombardment of Sebastopol, along with the terrible hardships of the autumn and winter, have been repeatedly described, and to wander over the much explored ground would be an unnecessary task: I will therefore conclude my narrative of the campaign in Anatolia by acquainting the reader, as far as lies in my power, with the subsequent fate of some of the numerous personages who have figured in the course of the preceding chapter. The rapidity of the rise and fall of public men in the East is so well known, that the fate of Haireddin or Mehemet Ali Pacha will not be a subject of marvel; for in Eastern society, matter-of-fact reality is often more strange and surprising than the inventions of the novelist.

Haireddin Pacha, who was the first Turkish official I encountered in Asia, whither he had been despatched by the Sultan in the capacity of Imperial Commissioner to the Asiatic Armies, has experienced within one short year all the vicissitudes of an Eastern existence. As brother-in-law to the Sultan he had enjoyed the personal favour of his sovereign, and honours had been showered upon him with a liberal hand. On his return from Asia he resumed the responsible, and, according to Turkish ideas, exalted post of Minister of Police; which he occupied at the time the Allies arrived in Constantinople. Hairedin Pacha enjoyed considerable influence, from the reputation he had acquired for honesty and activity; yet, notwithstanding these two excellent qualities, the police of Pera were in a most disgraceful state. At nightfall, the streets were infested by banditti and assassins, and scarcely a morning dawned without the murdered body of some British or French sailor being discovered, either there or in adjacent Galata. Expostulations on the part of the European consuls were unheeded, and the nocturnal assassinations continued; until at length, to such a pitch did this reign of terror attain, that the institution of a European police was decided upon. This measure was insisted upon by the European authorities, and a strong French

patrol lent security to the streets of Pera. At the same time Haireddin Pacha was dismissed; and, in order to indemnify that official for the loss of his position, the lucrative Pachalic of Salonica was offered him by the Porte. So deeply had the substitution of a European police, for that under his immediate control, affronted the *amour propre* of Haireddin Pacha, that not only did he contemptuously refuse the pachalic in question, but he even declined to admit to his presence the functionary who was the bearer of the appointment. With becoming energy the ministers of the Sultan resented this insult, and, notwithstanding the family bonds which united Haireddin Pacha to the padishah, he was banished to the island of Mytilene.

Mehemet Ali Pacha, also a brother-in-law of the Sultan, who was Seraskier, or Minister of War, at the time of my arrival in Asia, experienced a similar fate to that of Haireddin Pacha. Mehemet represents the opinions of the old Turkish school, in opposition to those entertained by the followers of Reschid Pacha. The greatest animosity prevailed between these two functionaries, which finally resulted in the triumph of the latter. Mehemet Ali Pacha was replaced in the war office by Rizza Pacha, a creature of Reschid's, and fell into disgrace. Mehemet Pacha, though not gifted with any

great intelligence, possessed an energy of character which rendered him popular with the Turks. He is, moreover, one of the handsomest men in the empire; and his personal advantages, coupled with his relationship to the sultan, had raised him from the humble station of an apprentice to the rank of Seraskier. During his disgrace, Mehemet Ali Pacha occupied his leisure time in fomenting intrigues against his hated rival Reschid Pacha; and the periodical risings of the Softas, or Students of Theology, have been traced to his instigation. These petty attempts at insurrection, though without consequence in themselves, must, nevertheless, be recognised as a species of protest on the part of the Turkish populace against the tendency of government to introduce European laws and customs.

A barbarous action, committed by Mehemet Ali Pacha in his younger days, had drawn upon him the animosity of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; to whose irresistible influence must be ascribed his dismissal from office and disgrace. Lord Redcliffe, with a view of arresting the progress of intrigues that threatened to undermine the power of his protégé Reschid Pacha, demanded from the Sultan the banishment of his brother-in-law. The Sultan complied with the request, and Mehemet Ali Pacha was commanded, without an hour's delay, to retire

to Sinope in exile. All the tears and entreaties of his sister could not shake the determination of the Sultan, and Mehemet Ali, in consequence, departed for the retreat assigned him. But the triumph of Reschid Pacha, though now complete, was destined to be of short duration. Lord Redcliffe, who had, either from motives of policy or curiosity, undertaken a trip to Sebastopol, had no sooner quitted the ambassadorial palace at Therapia, than a *coup d'état* was effected by the adherents of Mehemet Ali Pacha. A back stairs revolution took place, which resulted in the return of the banished Pacha and the temporary disgrace of Reschid Pacha. At the present moment Mehemet Ali Pacha is in the enjoyment of the Sultan's favour, and that amiable and generous Prince is endeavouring in every possible manner to recompense his injured brother-in-law for the temporary exile to which he had consigned him. Yet in the inevitable course of Eastern politics, it requires no prophetic mind to discern the speedy fall of the present favourite; and, before three moons have passed, Mehemet Ali Pacha will probably experience once more the bitterness of disgrace and exile.

No sooner had intelligence of the battle of Kurekdere reached Constantinople, than instructions were at once despatched to the Muchir, Zarif Mus-

tapha Pacha, to deliver up the command of the army of Anatolia, and to appear before a court-martial formed of the principal authorities of the Empire. At the same time it was signified to the Polish generals and the Europeans on the staff, that their valuable services would be no longer required; and General Guyon was commanded to appear before the court-martial and explain the causes of the defeat. In due time the Muchir arrived at Stamboul, and moved heaven and earth to influence the authorities of that place to proclaim his innocence of the disaster that had befallen the army of Anatolia: the whole responsibility of which was attached by the Muchir to General Guyon. The intrigues of the Muchir were crowned with complete success: through the influence of Rizza Pacha, the minister of war and his former master, he was exonerated from all blame.

General Guyon, with characteristic imprudence, had delayed appearing in Constantinople until the machinations of the Muchir had been successful. He had also adopted the unfortunate project of travelling overland to Scutari, instead of embarking at Trebizond and so reducing the length of his journey by a month. Thus above six weeks were gained by the Muchir; who profited by the delay imprudently granted him by Guyon, in advancing his own cause

to the detriment of the latter. It must, however, be admitted that the expense of transporting the General's baggage and stud to Constantinople by sea would have been very great, and that the Turkish government had refused to indemnify him for the expense he must have incurred in travelling to Constantinople; he was consequently compelled to adopt the longer, though more economical, route of Angora and Scutari. On arriving at Constantinople, General Guyon appeared before the court-martial; who, with monstrous injustice and partiality, attempted to impose upon him the responsibility of the past disasters of the Anatolian army.

From the present narrative of the campaign in Asia, it will have been remarked by the reader how limited were the powers entrusted to Guyon, and how sorely his patience and military honour had been tried by the officials who had surrounded him. After having supported with exemplary fortitude the slights of the Muchir and of the native Pachas, the intrigues of the Poles, and the sorrows of a wounded spirit, poor Guyon was now doomed to experience unjust and ungenerous treatment from the authorities at Stamboul, and to drink the bitter cup of disappointment to its dregs. All future command was denied the General, who was placed upon half-pay. Guyon is, I believe, at the present moment on his way to Damascus, where in the society of his family,

let us hope he will forget the frowns of fortune and the injustice of the world.

General Bystronowski and his amiable colleagues in intrigue failed to reap the advantage they had anticipated from the downfall of Guyon. They were recalled from the profitable position they occupied in Asia, and of their present occupation I am totally ignorant. General Brainski, whose admirable temper and kindness of heart had endeared him to all, has I believe rejoined the Sardinian army; whose fortunes he had previously shared in the ill-starred day of Novarro. The Anglo-Saxon colony in Asia dispersed soon after the conclusion of the campaign. Dr. Fraser is, I believe, on the Danube, or in the Crimea with the bashi-bazooks; as likewise is Mr. M'Coan, a later arrival in the camp of Kars. Major Bonfanti is in Constantinople, still constant to the fortunes of General Guyon, whom he had faithfully served in the capacity of military secretary. Colonel Tevis, with laudable patience, is busily occupied in writing a work on outpost duty, the materials for which will be greatly enriched by his experience with the bashi-bazooks. The last place where I encountered that gallant officer was at Pascal's, in Paris, and we laughed heartily on comparing the viands of that unequalled *chef* with the more than Spartan fare to which we had been so long condemned in the table-lands of Armenia.

The fate of the less exalted personages of this narrative may likewise prove instructive. Georgio, my dragoman, whose splendid intelligence I appreciated more than his peculiar notions of probity, obtained the high position of chief dragoman on board a British man-of-war; where I trust he will prosper. Mustafa, my Arab groom, accompanied me to the Crimea; but he fell into bad company, which, as we all know, corrupts good morals. The last intelligence I had of this individual was of a painful nature; for, in endeavouring to penetrate into a commissariat store, probably from other motives than mere curiosity, he was detected, and, as my informant wrote, was daily undergoing the salutary but unpleasant infliction of the British lash.

General Kmeti still commands the bashi-bazooks in Asia; the gallantry and devotion displayed by that officer entitle him to the highest praise and respect. Alike brave, intelligent, and unassuming, General Kmeti offers an instance of modest merit, and abnegation of self, rare in this century of military mediocrities. General Colman, who now occupies the position of General Guyon, likewise shares the present fortunes of the army of Anatolia; which let us hope is destined to be rewarded for its past sufferings and defeats, with the soldier's inestimable recompense—victory.

Having now arrived at the conclusion of this work, it behoves me to crave pardon of the reader, should I be thought to have used too frequently the distasteful monosyllable "I;" but it is so difficult to be avoided in the course of a personal narrative, that I trust to be honourably acquitted of egotism or presumption.

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